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# ***Daily Report***

## **East Asia**

**FBIS-EAS-88-169  
Wednesday  
31 August 1988**

# Daily Report

## East Asia

FBIS-EAS-88-169

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**South Pacific Island Conference Held in Tokyo**  
*OW2608184188 Tokyo KYODO in English 1132 GMT  
26 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 26 KYODO—A 2-day Pacific Island Nations Conference attended by 10 leaders from the region opened here Friday, with the aim of promoting mutual understanding of the aspirations and realities of development in the area and discussion of what Japan might do in this connection.

Regular participants include governmental personnel from Fiji, Kiribati, the Federated States of Micronesia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa.

The gathering will be the first private sector-level talks between the Pacific insular states and Japan, sponsored by a Japanese private organization, the Sasakawa Peace Foundation (SPF).

Chaired by former Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari, the representatives took turns to introduce the present economic and social conditions in their countries as well as prospects for the future.

Fiji's Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara said that the fact that this conference is being held here showed in a "very real way" Japan's interest in the region and the presence of the island leaders was evidence of their belief that the "Pacific Ocean unites us all," acting as a bridge for the mutual understanding which is important to peace and prosperity in the region.

Reflecting the less-than close relationship between Japan and the region in the past, Papua New Guinea's Minister for Foreign Affairs Michael Somare urged Japan to note that "smallness does not necessarily mean helplessness."

The participating countries all look to Japan's assistance in their domestic economic and social developments and believe that regional cooperation is important for political security within the region. While they said that foreign assistance is desperately needed to reconstruct and develop their nations, the insular leaders also say the greatest problem they face will be to sustain an appropriate balance between such assistance and their internal political and economic integrity.

Concerns about the region becoming an arena of "super-power rivalry" were expressed by leaders of the Solomon Islands and Western Samoa. They said Japan can contribute to their effort for the promotion of peace. "We can make our presence felt in the region" by holding meetings of this kind, Solomon Island Prime Minister Ezekiel Alebua said.

Later in the day, each nation explained its present domestic socio-economic problems. Among the concerns voiced were the need for improvement in the areas of health,

education for human development, the encouragement of fisheries on which the entire economy of some nations is dependant, and the promotion of tourism.

Keizo Obuchi, Japan's chief cabinet secretary, read a speech at the opening session in behalf of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, who is currently visiting China.

Former ambassador to the United States Yoshio Okawara, now a member of the SPF Board, was among the audience. SPF was established in September 1986 by Ryoichi Sasakawa and funded by motorboat-race profits.

**Discuss Economic Development**  
*OW2708083188 Tokyo KYODO in English 0636 GMT  
27 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 26 KYODO—Leaders of 10 South Pacific island countries on Saturday called for assistance from advanced countries to help them establish what they describe as an "autonomous economy."

Fiji, Kiribati, the Federated States of Micronesia, Papua New Guinea (PNG), the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa all called for help in building their social and economic infrastructures.

West Samoa's Finance Minister Tuilaepa Sailele called on advanced countries to employ long-term vision in providing assistance to Pacific Island nations.

Foreign assistance projects have thus far lacked consistency, were shortsighted and have blocked island nations from attaining their ultimate goal of economic autonomy.

PNG Foreign Minister Michael Somare, speaking at the Pacific Insular Nations Conference here, said his country needs to promote tourism and fishery, develop human resources and improve medical service.

Fiji Prime Minister Kamisese Mara said he hopes advanced countries will open their markets to products of South Pacific island nations to help them achieve economic independence. Mara said the biggest problem with foreign assistance to the South Pacific region over the past two decades is that it was "not given on our initiatives." "Give us a chance to tell you what we need," Mara said.

Japan's former Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari chaired the Pacific Insular Nations Conference, which opened on Friday and was sponsored by the Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

Somare offered some insights into specific areas where more development is needed, most notably in promotion of tourism and the fishing industry as well as educations. He also suggested establishing a standing committee which could be headed by Japan to discuss a detailed action program tailored to such needs.

Tuvalu's Prime Minister Tomasi Puapua welcomed visits to his country and the region by foreign aid officials because such firsthand knowledge will lead to a better understanding of local problems.

Solomon's Prime Minister Ezekiel Alebua and Vanuatu's Sethy Regenvanu, minister of education,

youth and sports, expressed hope for more access to information regarding activities of Japan's nongovernmental organizations.

Papua New Guinea said the so-called "Pacific era" may mean a time when advanced nations will concentrate on the region's problems and discuss possible solutions.



## Japan

**Prime Minister Takeshita Returns From China**  
*OW3008071688 Tokyo KYODO in English 0700 GMT  
30 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 30 KYODO—Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita returned home Tuesday from a six-day visit to China.

Takeshita met Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng in Beijing before visiting the "Silk Road" city of Dunhuang and the ancient capital of Xian.

**Welcomes PRC-USSR Rapprochement**  
*OW3108045288 Tokyo KYODO in English 0412 GMT  
31 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 31 KYODO—Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita told the Diet Wednesday that China and the Soviet Union appear to be moving toward a major improvement in their relations.

Speaking at a session of the House of Councillors Budget Committee, Takeshita said he gained this impression through a series of talks with Chinese leaders last week.

The prime minister said Japan welcomes such moves toward rapprochement between the communist giants, which have been at odds since the 1950s.

Chinese Premier Li Peng told Takeshita last Thursday that an overall normalization of Sino-Soviet ties is on the agenda between the two countries.

Takeshita told the same committee session that he welcomes moves between China and Taiwan to improve ties.

Takeshita returned home Tuesday from a 6-day visit to China, where he met with senior leader Deng Xiaoping, Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and Premier Li.

**Supports PRC Participation in GATT**  
*OW3008131488 Tokyo KYODO in English 1138 GMT  
30 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 30 KYODO—Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has pledged his support for China's participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), Japanese Government sources said Tuesday.

The promise was made at a meeting between Takeshita and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng in Beijing last Thursday, the sources said.

Takeshita told Li that China's participation in the 96-member GATT institution would be desirable from the standpoint of developing the world trade, they said.

He went on to say that Japan would do everything possible to support China's entry into the GATT system, they added.

Li was quoted as saying that China welcomes Takeshita's remarks as a commitment by Japan to support its bid to "return to GATT."

This was Japan's first commitment on the matter at the top level, although Japan has been expressing its support for China on the issue since July 1986, when the communist nation made an official application for GATT membership, the sources said.

Li also said China would not block Taiwan from becoming a GATT member on the condition that it is treated as a customs territory and that its participation would come only after China enters the international trade body, the sources said.

The remarks are regarded as China's first reference to Taiwan's potential status in GATT.

The Republic of China was a signatory to the Geneva-based GATT but left the institution in 1950, after the Communists established control over the mainland a year earlier.

China, which joined the United Nations in 1971, was given observer status at the GATT the same year.

In response to China's application, the GATT Secretariat established a working group to examine its application and has held four working sessions on the matter.

Communist countries belonging to the institution are Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

**Trade With PRC May Exceed \$20 Billion**  
*OW2708102588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0936 GMT  
27 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 27 KYODO—Bilateral trade between Japan and China may exceed the 20 billion dollar-level for the first time in history this year, trade industry sources said Saturday.

Japanese exports to China may rise sharply this autumn due to rising domestic demand expansion in China and encouraged by Japan's economic assistance which is eventually expected to total some 1 trillion yen, the sources said.

Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita formally announced an 810 billion yen soft loan plan during his official visit to China which started Thursday.

The Japan-China trade will hit a record this year, and what is already being called the second "trade boom with China" will continue for the next three years, trading house sources said.

"This year's Japan-China trade volume may exceed the 20 billion dollar-level for the first time," an official at the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) said.

The previous peak in Japan-China trade was some 19 billion dollars in 1985.

But China then tightened its foreign exchange controls and bilateral trade sagged some 20 percent in 1986 and 1987 from the 1985 level.

According to preliminary reports by the Ministry of Finance, Japan's exports to China in the January-July period of this year rose 7.4 percent from the same period a year earlier to some 4.9 billion dollars, while imports from China soared 40.3 percent to some 5.5 billion dollars.

Bilateral trade volume in the first seven months of this year jumped 22.5 percent to some 10.4 billion dollars.

It is the first time since 1983 that Japan has had a trade deficit with China, the sources said.

China's foreign currency reserves hit some 18.1 billion dollars as of the end of June because of rising manufactured goods exports and revenues from tourists, and it is likely that China will somewhat relax its import-curbing policy, the sources said.

The Japanese business community hopes the large-scale economic assistance plan announced by Takeshita will promote a relaxation of Chinese imports.

A trading house official said Japanese exports to China look certain to increase in the near future.

**PRC Seeks Entry into Construction Market**  
*OW3008073588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0658 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 30 KYODO—Chinese Premier Li Peng asked Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita last week to allow Chinese companies entry to the Japanese construction market, Construction Minister Ihei Ochi said Tuesday.

Li filed the request in a meeting with Takeshita in Beijing on Thursday.

Chinese Construction Minister Lin Hanxiong called on Japan to accept Chinese construction workers, Ochi said. Lin made the request to Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Ichiro Ozawa, who accompanied Takeshita on his China trip.

Ochi told reporters that Chinese companies should first join public-sector construction projects and that Japan cannot accept foreign construction workers.

Following years of talks, Japan and the United States agreed earlier this year that Japan will open its construction market to American firms. In May, the two countries exchanged diplomatic documents allowing U.S. firms to bid in eight public works projects.

**Business Reaction to PRC Investment Pact Mixed**  
*OW2708033688 Tokyo KYODO in English 0310 GMT 27 Aug 88*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 27 KYODO—The Japanese business community welcomed the Japan-China investment protection agreement inked Saturday during Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's official visit to the country.

The bilateral pact, which is characterized by guarantees of reciprocal "national treatment," is expected to boost Japanese investments and technology transfers to China, two major bilateral trade issues.

The so-called "national treatment" provision affords equal access to business activities by Japanese and Chinese firms in the other country as is enjoyed by domestic firms.

The pact, together with the 810-billion-yen loan to China also announced during Takeshita's current visit, will pave the way for more vigorous economic relations between the two countries, major Japanese trading houses said.

Some business sources, however, said the investment climate in China, including its legal system, should be improved first for proper implementation of the accord.

In response to this request, China plans to use the loan to bolster its infrastructures such as roads, ports, power plants, and telecommunications facilities.

There were some 400 Japanese investments in China made over the past 10 years, mostly by medium- and small-sized companies.

Japan is lagging behind such countries as Hong Kong, whose investments in China totalled 1,000 cases over the same period, and the United States, which has poured huge sums of money into auto-related investments.

The Chinese Government has continually complained about Japanese alleged "reluctance" toward investing in China.

**Sakhalin Korean Repatriated to ROK**

OW2908195888 Tokyo KYODO in English 1310 GMT  
29 Aug 88

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 29 KYODO—A 79-year-old Korean man stranded at the end of World War II on the Soviet island of Sakhalin, finally returned to his native land via Japan on Monday, a Japanese Foreign Ministry official said.

Han Won-su, one of thousands of Koreans forcibly sent by the Imperial Japanese Government to work as coal miners on the large island north of Hokkaido, the southern half of which was then part of Japan, is the first person to be repatriated to South Korea since the 1970s, the official said.

Han left Sakhalin for the continental port city of Vladivostok on Friday after obtaining a rarely-issued exit permit from the Soviet Government. He then flew on to Seoul via the Japanese cities of Niigata and Tokyo.

South Korea and the Soviet Union do not maintain diplomatic relations and there are no direct air links between the two.

This is only the fifth case in which a pro-Seoul Sakhalin Korean has been permitted to exit the country permanently, the official said. The other four were allowed to leave in the 1970's, he said.

The official said the Japanese Government welcomes the Soviet move to allow Han to return to his native land, adding that Japan had been pursuing Han's case with extra vigour due in part to his age.

Han has been separated from his wife and two sons from some 50 years and will be reunited with them in the southern city of Taegu, according to YONHAP news agency.

The Japanese Government has in recent years been representing Seoul in pressing the Soviets to allow the repatriation of Koreans desiring to move to South Korea.

Japan's efforts arise partly from a desire to improve relations with its former colony and partly from feelings of responsibility for the situation Koreans on the island find themselves in. Japan ruled Korea from 1910-45.

Japan has called on the Soviets to participate in working-level negotiations on the trilateral issue, however, it has received no response as yet, said the official.

A senior Japanese envoy will be sent to Moscow in the middle of September and raise the subject with the Soviet Government, Japanese Government officials said recently.

Soviet officials have stated in the past that Koreans on Sakhalin are happy there and that no one wants to leave the island. They have also charged that Japan has no right to be concerned about the issue.

YONHAP News Agency quoted a South Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman as saying Monday that some 40,000 Korea remain on the island, 300 of which have expressed a wish to return to "Korea."

Foreign Ministry officials of both Japan and South Korea also called on the Soviet Union to allow more visits and to grant emigration permits.

**MITI To List Export Products to Eastern Bloc**

OW3008020988 Tokyo KYODO in English 0124 GMT  
30 Aug 88

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 30 KYODO—Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) will announce a list of products that Japanese companies will be permitted to export to communist countries every month starting on September 1, MITI officials said Tuesday.

The validity period of certificates, showing which products are allowed to be exported to the communist nations, will also be extended from the current 2 years to 3 years, the officials said.

A total of 19 products, including an electronic counter device, word processor, and frequency analyzer, will be on the list to be made public on September 1.

The ministry toughened its investigation procedures for domestic products that are prohibited from being exported to communist nations after May 1987, when a unit of Toshiba Corp. Was found to have exported sophisticated milling machines to the Soviet Union.

These investigation procedures, however, caused delays in the export of other products that are not regulated by COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls], a Paris-based watchdog body regulating exports to communist nations, the officials said.

Before May 1987, the ministry had occasionally announced a list of products allowed to be exported to communist nations since 1981.

**Ministries, Agencies Place Budget Bids**

OW3108025588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0155 GMT  
31 Aug 88

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 31 KYODO—Government agencies and ministries Wednesday submitted to the Finance Ministry their Fiscal 1989 budget requests, totaling some 64.1 Trillion yen, up 13 percent from the original Fiscal 1988 budget, Finance Ministry officials said. Wednesday was the deadline for the requests.



The Finance Ministry is expected to start on Thursday reviewing the requests, with an eye to slashing them to around 58 trillion yen in line with the government's policy of terminating floatation of deficit-financing bonds by Fiscal 1990.

The ministry will start the process of forging its budget plan on the assumption that the proposed tax reform bills will pass the Diet during the current extraordinary session, the officials said.

The ministry is expected to come up with its budget proposal by late December.

Few, if any, new public works projects will be given the official go-ahead in the ministry's budget plan, which is aimed at curtailing government spending, the officials added.

### North Korea

**GFTUK Head Seeks Nuclear Disarmament in South**  
*SK3108041588 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0401 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 31 (KCNA)—What is important in achieving a durable peace in the world is to prohibit the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, reduce the existing ones of various types and, further, dismantle all the nuclear weapons, said Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, in a statement made to the press on August 30 on the occasion of "Day of Peace" which falls on September 1.

While clamouring about "peace and detente," the imperialists are making haste with the nuclear arms race, still resorting to the policy of strength and thereby rendering the situation strained, he said, and went on:

Moreover, the U.S. imperialists not only have left in South Korea their aggression forces which had been mobilized in the "Team Spirit 88" joint military maneuvers on the ridiculous pretext of "threat from the North" and "Olympic safety," but also are massing nuclear-powered carrier flotillas consisting of scores of warships and battleships in the waters around the Korean peninsula with the Olympic games as an occasion.

To remove the danger of nuclear war hanging on the Korean peninsula stands out, at present, as a task of greatest urgency in averting a new world war, a thermo-nuclear war, and guaranteeing peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

In recent years alone, our party and government, deeply conscious of their heavy responsibility to the nation and of their noble mission for the cause of world peace, have advanced many peace proposals including the proposal for tripartite talks among the DPRK, U.S. and South Korea, the proposal for turning the Korean peninsula

into a nuclear-free, peace zone, the proposal for a North-South joint conference, the proposal for a North-South joint parliamentary meeting and the proposal for DPRK-U.S. parliamentary talks, Kim Pong-chu said.

He expressed full support for the peace proposals of socialist and other countries for preventing a nuclear war and defending world peace and security and for the struggle of the working class and peoples of different countries to carry them into effect.

He went on to say:

The working class of all countries, the first victim to the imperialist nuclear arms race, must firmly unite and vigorously struggle to frustrate the nuclear arms race and nuclear war moves of the U.S.-led imperialists.

When trade union organizations of all countries in the world form a broad united front and launch a powerful anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movements everywhere in the world they will be able to check the imperialists' reckless nuclear arms race and war provocation moves.

Vigorous efforts are being made at present to create nuclear-free, peace zones in many parts of the world including Asia, Africa, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, the Balkan Peninsula and Europe.

The working class and trade unions in all countries should encourage such efforts and take the lead in the endeavours to create and expand nuclear-free, peace zones in different parts of the world and thus make active contributions to the struggle to prevent a nuclear war and defend world peace.

The working class and the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea will firmly unite with the world working class and world's peaceloving people who aspire after peace and chajusong under the uplifted banner of independence, friendship and peace and more vigorously struggle to check and frustrate the imperialist moves toward nuclear war, defend peace on the Korean peninsula and in Asia and the rest of the world and build a new world, peaceful and independent.

**Further on Kim Pong-chu Remarks**  
*SK3008224388 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
2201 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—A meeting of Pyongyang working people was held on the occasion of the September 1 "Day of Peace."

Speaking at the meeting, Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, said that the GFTUK on this occasion is conducting activities to further strengthen the struggle for peace against imperialism and war and solidarity among the world working class and peaceloving people.



Stressing that the Korean peninsula is the very place where the disarmament should be carried out before any other part of the world, he stated: It is a prerequisite to the removal of the danger of war and preservation and consolidation of peace in Korea and the Far East to ease the acute tension created on the Korean peninsula by the ever intensified moves of aggression and war on the part of U.S imperialism.

Today the trade unions of many countries, the World Federation of Trade Unions and other international organisations of the working class are positively supporting and encouraging the working masses and other strata of the Korean people in their struggle to prevent war, defend peace and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, he declared, adding:

The working masses and other strata of the Korean people faithful to the cause of world peace will in the future, too, continue to wage a powerful struggle for defence of peace and security in Asia and the world against the imperialist policy of aggression and war, upholding the anti-war, anti-nuclear and peace slogan and uniting closely with the working class of all countries.

**KCNA Reports Suppression of Students in South**  
*SK2908101688 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1010 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 29 (KCNA)—The South Korean puppet Police Headquarters, crying that students belonging to the "National Council of Student Representatives" were plotting to organize a "death-defying corps to obstruct the Olympics" and "kidnap secret service operatives and others," ordered the police throughout South Korea on August 27 to "take counter-measures" against it, according to a report.

The fascist clique also revealed their intention for crackdown on students with the allegation that students appear to make and screen video-tapes introducing the northern half of Korea.

This tells that the military fascist clique are scheming to launch into a wholesale crackdown on students.

The students of the "National Council of Student Representatives" are carrying on brisk activities against the moves of the U.S. imperialists and the puppet clique to stage the Olympic games singlehandedly and for the joint hosting of the games by the North and the South and the realization of North-South student talks, under the slogan of anti-U.S. struggle and reunification.

This is a righteous action reflecting the unanimous will and desire of the entire Korean people who want joint Olympics and national reunification.

However, the No Tae-u group is scheming to resort to a wholesale crackdown against students on unwarrantable pretexts.

**Foreign Papers on 'Unstable Situation' in South**  
*SK2908154788 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1530 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 29 (KCNA)—Cuban and British papers carried articles on the South Korean situation.

The Cuban newspaper LOS TRABAJADORES August 22 in an article headlined "Growing Possibility of Clashes in Seoul" pointed out that there are much possibility of political clashes in Seoul during the Olympic games.

No one can predict what events will happen in Seoul in the period of the Olympiad, it noted.

Commenting on the unstable situation of South Korea with the Olympic games at hand, the British paper THE TIMES August 18 said that Seoul was in a tense atmosphere.

It said that the world public expressed deep concern over the unstable situation of South Korea on the threshold of the "Seoul Olympics".

**Foreign Press Notes 'Concern' Over South**  
*SK3108103288 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1014 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 31 (KCNA)—With the approach of the date of the Olympic games, broad public circles of the world are now expressing deep concern over the unstable situation of South Korea and lifting up louder voices denouncing the South Korean fascist clique's scheme to singlehandedly stage the Olympic games.

Saying that the United States is making preparations for "a great demonstration of military strength" under the pretext of the Olympic games, the Cuban newspaper LOS TRABAJADORES exposed the dispatch of the aggressive armed forces of the U.S. 7th Fleet to the waters off South Korea and the aerial espionage of the U.S. imperialists against the DPRK.

Referring to the South Korean situation reminiscent of a state of war, the Syrian newspaper AL-'USBU' AL-RI-YADI [name as received] said that never in Olympic history have the sports games been held under the "protection" of military forces or under the threat of war.

Saying that clashes are increasing with each passing day in South Korea and no one can predict what will happen during the Olympic games, the Seoul correspondent of the British paper THE TIMES pointed out that the South Korean puppets have been undergoing a crisis in the face of unusual massive protests in the last six months.

The editor-in-chief of the Egyptian newspaper ARAB YOUTH in a press statement said that arrest, medieval torture and murder of people are committed everywhere in South Korea. To hold the Olympic games in such a place is a mockery of the Olympic movement, he said.

The Austrian newspaper VOLKSSTIMME said that the South Korean situation is now very unstable and the Olympiad is faced with a serious danger.

It is a gross mistake, if they expect that "Olympic safety could be guaranteed" by violence with the mobilization of the U.S. forces and South Korean puppet Army, stressed the newspaper.

**Cuba Supports Draft on Nonaggression**  
*SK3008051388 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0458 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—Recognizing the necessity and urgency of preventing a war, relaxing tensions and preserving peace on the Korean peninsula at a time when imperialism is obstructing the peaceful reunification of the country at every step, the National Assembly of People's Power of the Republic of Cuba expresses full support to the letter to the South Korean "National Assembly" and the North-South joint declaration on non-aggression (draft) which were adopted on July 20 at a session of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Severo Aquirre del Cristo, acting president of the National Assembly of People's Power of the Republic of Cuba, said this in his solidarity letter to Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly.

The letter supports the stand of the DPRK on holding talks with the South Korean "National Assembly" to arrange a dialogue for the noble purpose of peace and peaceful reunification of Korea and to publish a joint declaration.

It is inevitable that the U.S. troops who are laying obstacles in the way of Korea's reunification should withdraw from South Korea, the letter says, and declares: The DPRK will always enjoy our solidarity and militant support.

**SKNDF Marks Founding Anniversary in Cuba**  
*SK3108085088 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean*  
2200 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] According to a report, on the occasion of the 19th anniversary of the founding of the SKNDF, the SKNDF mission in Cuba held a news conference on 23 August.

Cuban newspaper, broadcast, and news agency reporters were present at the news conference.

Yi Sang-chol, chief of the SKNDF mission to Cuba, spoke at the news conference.

He said that the Revolutionary Party for Reunification, which was founded on 25 August 1969 in South Korea, was finally strengthened and developed into the SKNDF in July 1985 through the struggle to strengthen itself and rally patriotic forces.

He noted that the SKNDF is a patriotic vanguard which takes the immortal *chuche* idea as a guiding principle and which speaks for the interests of the South Korean masses of broad strata, including workers, peasants, youths, and students.

He specifically noted the achievements which the SKNDF has won in implementing its program over the past 19 years. He also mentioned the growing anti-U.S. and anti-government struggle of the South Korean people, and exposed and condemned the suppression of the people by the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique.

He expressed thanks for the firm support and encouragement which the Cuban party, government, and people extend toward the struggle of the SKNDF and South Korean people to drive the U.S. imperialist aggression forces and nuclear weapons out of South Korea, liquidate the fascist dictatorship, and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

He stressed that the active support of Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba, and president of the Council of Ministers, for the cohosting of the Olympics is a great encouragement for the South Korean people's struggle to prevent the permanent division of the country and fulfill the cherished desire of the nation, the reunification of the fatherland.

At the news conference, the reporters' questions were answered.

**Social Science Delegation Departs for USSR**  
*SK2908102688 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1020 GMT 29 Aug 88

["Visits"—KCNA headline]

[Text] Pyongyang August 29 (KCNA)—A delegation of the Korean National Peace Committee headed by its Vice-Chairman and Vice-President of the Academy of Social Science Kim Chol-sik left Pyongyang on August 29 to visit the Soviet Union.

Victor Selva Gutierrez, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua to the DPRK, arrived here today.

**Delegations Depart for USSR, GDR, Libya**  
*SK2508152688 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1512 GMT 25 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 25 (KCNA)—A delegation of the State Planning Commission headed by its Vice-Chairman Kim Hak-u to visit the Soviet Union, a Korean movie delegation headed by Cho Chan-ku, rector of Pyongyang University of Drama and Cinematics, to visit the Soviet University of Drama and Cinematics, to visit the Soviet Union and Poland, and a delegation of the organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Social Democratic Party headed by Kim Sok-chun, vice-chairman of the KSDP Central Committee and director and editor-in-chief of the KSDP Publishing House, to visit the GDR left. Pyongyang on August 25.

A Korean trade union delegation headed by Sim Hong-kyu, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, left here today to attend the celebrations of the 19th anniversary of the September First Revolution of the Libyan Arab People.

**Film Presentation Marks SRV National Day**  
*SK2608101286 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1003 GMT 26 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 26 (KCNA)—A film show was held at the Chollima House of Culture on August 25 on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the national day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Present there were Hong Hyon-chong, deputy general director of the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY and vice-chairman of the Korea-Vietnam Friendship Association, other officials concerned and working people in the city.

Present on invitation were Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Van Trong and his embassy officials and cultural officials of different embassies in Pyongyang.

The attendants saw a Vietnamese feature film.

**University Meeting Held**  
*SK2908160588 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1549 GMT 29 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 29 (KCNA)—A meeting was held today at Kim Chaek University of Technology on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the national day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Vietnamese Ambassador to Korea Nguen Van Trong and his embassy officials were present on invitation.

Speeches were made at the meeting.

**Kim Il-song Sends Greetings to Malaysian King**  
*SK3008102288 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1016 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—President Kim Il-song of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Monday sent a message of greetings to Sultan Mahmood Iskandar al-Haji Ibni al-Marhum Sultan Ismail, king of Malaysia, on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the independence of Malaysia.

The message sincerely wished his majesty and the Malaysian people great success in the work for the prosperity of the country.

**O Chin-u Greets New Afghan Defense Minister**  
*SK2808080888 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*0804 GMT 28 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 28 (KCNA)—Vice Marshal of the Korean People's Army O Chin-u, minister of People's Armed Forces, sent a message of greetings to Colonel General Shahnawaz Tanay on his appointment as defence minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Expressing the belief that the friendly and cooperative relations between the peoples and armies of the two countries will continue to expand and develop, the message sincerely wishes the Afghan defence minister great success in his new responsible work to defend the gains of the revolution and achieve peace, stability and national reconciliation.

**Gathering Marks Indian Independence Day**  
*SK2508103988 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1037 GMT 25 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 25 (KCNA)—A friendship gathering was held on the Korea-India Friendship Kalchon Cooperative Farm on August 24 on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the independence of India.

Officials of the Indian Embassy in Pyongyang were present on invitation at the gathering.

Speeches were exchanged at the gathering which took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Prior to the gathering, the attendants went round fields of the farm.

**Daily Lauds Development in Czechoslovakia**  
*SK2808082788 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*0820 GMT 28 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 28 (KCNA)—Papers here today observe the 44th anniversary of the Slovak popular uprising.



Noting that the Slovak popular uprising was an important event in the anti-fascist, national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people, NODONG SINMUN in a signed article says:

Since the liberation from the fascist rule the Czechoslovak people under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party have smashed all plots of the enemies at home and abroad with success, defended the gains of socialism and brought about a great development and changes in a historically short time.

Today they are making a powerful march to carry out the eighth five-year plan set forth at the 17th congress of their party and build a developed socialist society.

The Czechoslovak party, government and people valuing world peace and security are striving to avert the danger of war and achieve peace and security in Europe.

The proposal to build a corridor without nuclear weapons and a zone without chemical weapons in central Europe and the proposal to build a zone of trust, cooperation and good neighbourliness along the border line between Warsaw treaty member nations and NATO member nations put forward by the Czechoslovak party and government are contributing to peace and security in Europe and the cause of world peace.

The Korean people express firm solidarity with the Czechoslovak people in their just cause of building a developed socialist society and safeguarding peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world.

The Korean people will as ever further strengthen and develop the Korea-Czechoslovakia friendship.

**Bulgarian Photo Exposition Opens in Pyongyang**  
*SK3108043188 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0419 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 31 (KCNA)—A Bulgarian photo exposition opened Tuesday at the Chollima House of Culture under the sponsorship of the Committee for Cultural Relations with foreign countries and the Korea-Bulgaria Friendship Association on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

Present on the occasion were O Mun-han, vice-chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and vice-chairman of the Korea-Bulgaria Friendship Association, other personages concerned and working people in the city.

Bulgarian Ambassador to Korea Petur Danailov and his embassy officials and cultural officials of foreign embassies here were also present on invitation.

Speeches were made at the opening ceremony.

The attendants saw the photographs showing the successes made by the Bulgarian people in the revolution and construction over the past 40 odd years after the victory of the revolution and the development of the friendly relations between Korea and Bulgaria.

Then they appreciated a Bulgarian feature film.

Meanwhile, a meeting was held at the Samjigang Cooperative Farm in Chaenyong County, South Hwanghae Province, on August 29 to mark the anniversary.

**Foreign Ministry Hosts Nonaligned Film Reception**  
*SK3008103388 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1028 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—The Foreign Ministry today hosted a film reception at the Pyongyang International House of Culture on the occasion of the Day of Non-alignment.

Invited there were diplomatic envoys and embassy officials of non-aligned countries in Pyongyang.

Choe Su-hon, vice-minister of foreign affairs, and other officials concerned were present.

The attendants went round the national musical instruments hall of the non-aligned and developing countries before appreciating a Korean feature film.

**Yi Chong-ok Pays Official Visit to Ethiopia**  
*SK3108084688 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean*  
1300 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Vice President Yi Chong-ok arrived in Addis Ababa on 26 August to pay a visit to Ethiopia.

At the airport, he was met by Ethiopian Deputy Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka, the minister of mines and energy, the minister of state farms, and other functionaries concerned.

He was also met by the ambassador of our country to Ethiopia.

**Joint Drug Venture With Nigeria Commissioned**  
*SK3008052188 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0508 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—A letter came to the great leader President Kim Il-song from the commissioning ceremony of the Pasil-Nakwon Joint Venture Pharmaceutical Factory which was held on August 4 in Aba, Imo Province of Nigeria.

The letter stresses that His Excellency President Kim Il-song, who founded the great chuche idea, a man-centred philosophy, regarding man as the most precious being in the world, and turned Korea into a country of longevity in good health and a people's paradise, has



today sent to Nigeria modern pharmaceutical equipment and a group of competent specialists, with wishes for the promotion of health and happiness of all people, so as to build an excellent pharmaceutical factory.

The Pasil-Nakwon Joint Venture Pharmaceutical Factory will be widely known to the world as a model of South-South cooperation and a symbol of Nigeria-Korea friendship and enjoy warm love of the Nigerian people, the letter says, adding:

We will work well so that the factory can discharge its mission as your excellency president wish and the Nigerian people expect, always joining hands with our close Korean friends like real brothers.

The letter sincerely wishes President Kim Il-song good health and a long life.

**Dailies Mark Solidarity With Namibia**  
*SK2608104088 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1014 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 26 (KCNA)—Papers here today carry signed articles on the occasion of Day of International Solidarity with the Namibian People.

NODONG SINMUN says that on the occasion of the day the Korean people extend militant greetings and firm solidarity to the Namibian people and patriots who are waging an unyielding struggle against the racist rule and for freedom and liberation.

It goes on:

The struggle of the Namibian people is a just one to restore the lost territory and sovereignty and to become the master of their destiny.

The Korean people hope that the problem of Namibia will be settled in a fair way at an early date in accordance with the desire and hope of her people.

The Korean people will positively support as ever the struggle of the Namibian people.

The Korean people will positively support as ever the struggle of the Namibian people.

MINJU CHOSON stresses that the Korean people firmly support in the future, too, the just national liberation struggle of the Namibian people against the colonial oppression and racial discrimination and for the liberation of the country.

**Joint Committee Protocol Signed With Senegal**  
*SK2508153188 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1515 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 25 (KCNA)—The first meeting of the Inter-Governmental Joint Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Senegal was held in Pyongyang.

A protocol of the first meeting of the joint committee was signed today at the end of the meeting.

The protocol was signed by Minister of External Economic Affairs of Korea Chong Song-nam and Minister of Planning and Cooperation of the Republic of Senegal Djibo Ka.

**Kim Yong-nam Meets Senegalese Ambassador**  
*SK2708044488 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0432 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 27 (KCNA)—Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam on August 26 met and conversed with Ahmed Tijane Kane, ambassador e.p. of the Republic of Senegal to Korea, who paid a farewell call on him.

**Friendship Association Formed With Uganda**  
*SK2708042088 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0416 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 27 (KCNA)—An inaugural meeting of the Uganda-DPRK friendship association was held on August 18.

It elected the leading body of the association and discussed its rules.

Then, speeches were made.

The speakers said that the association set it as its goal to further develop the friendly cooperative relations with the Korean people.

It is a model to be followed by the peoples of non-aligned and other developing countries in the building of a new society that the Korean people have developed the economy of the country by their own efforts and resources, the speakers stressed. They said nothing is impossible when the creative strength and revolutionary zeal of the popular masses are enlisted as in Korea.

The speakers declared that the association would extend firm support and solidarity to the Korean people in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

Letters to the great leader President Kim Il-song and dear Comrade Kim Chong-il were adopted at the meeting.

At the end of the meeting, functions were held to celebrate the formation of the association.

**Benin President Greets Kim Il-song**  
*SK2808081788 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*0809 GMT 28 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 28 (KCNA)—Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received a message of solidarity dated August 23 from Mathieu Kerekou, chairman of the Central Committee of the party of the People's Revolution of Benin, president of the Republic, head of state and chairman of the National Executive Council, in support of the proposals for promoting the peaceful reunification of Korea he advanced in his May 27 speech.

The message says:

On behalf of the Benin people, the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the National Executive Council and ourselves, we reassure your excellency of our firm support to these positive initiatives and the tireless efforts consistently made by the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean nation under the leadership of your excellency.

Benin and we ourselves are convinced that negotiations will take place on a democratic principle at a North-South joint conference attended by the authorities, representatives of all political parties and social organizations and personages of all social standings of the North and the South of Korea and that it will contribute to creating most favorable conditions for peace and reunification. The message reaffirms the invariable solidarity of the Benin people with the Korean people in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and expresses highest friendly regards to comrade president, dear friend.

**Kim Il-song Greets Zambian Party Leader**  
*SK2508154088 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1520 GMT 25 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 25 (KCNA)—Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, sent a message of greetings to Kenneth David Kaunda on August 22 on his reelection as chairman of the United National Independence Party of Zambia.

The message says: The 10th congress of your party summed up the successes made in the party building and activities in the past and reclarified your party's stand to build a socialist society based on ideal of humanism. This is of weighty significance in carrying out the cause of the Zambian people.

Believing that the friendly and cooperative relations between the parties and peoples of our two countries which are developing with the passage of time will grow stronger and develop in the future, I wish greater success to your people in the endeavours for implementing the decisions of the congress under the leadership of the United National Independence Party of Zambia headed by you and to you in your noble work.

**Yi Chong-chu Returns From Congo, Burkina Faso**  
*SK3008052388 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*0511 GMT 25 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 25 (KCNA)—Minister of General Education Yi Chong-chu returned home on August 24 by plane after attending the celebrations of the 5th anniversary of the victory of the Burkina Faso revolution and of the 25th anniversary of the victory of the Congolese revolution as a special envoy of the great leader President Kim Il-song.

**Kim Il-song Greets Caribbean Leader**  
*SK3008102088 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*1014 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—President Kim Il-song of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today sent a message of greetings to Noor Hassanali, president of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the independence of Trinidad and Tobago.

In his message he expressed the belief that the friendly relations between the two countries would further develop and sincerely wished the president and people of Trinidad and Tobago greater success in their work for the prosperity of the country.

**Pak Song-chol, Others Mark Nation's Founding**  
*SK3108050988 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
*0454 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] Pyongyang August 31 (KCNA)—A central symposium marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was held at the People's Palace of Culture on August 30.

It was attended by Pak Song-chol, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and vice-president, officials concerned as well as party and administrative and economic officials of central organs, functionaries of party workers' training institutions and men of science, education and the press.

Chong Chun-ki, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and vice-premier of the Administration Council; Chu Chang-chun, editor-in-chief of NODONG SINMUN; Prof. and Dr. Kim Sok-hyong, academician of the Academy of Social Science; Son Song-pil, president of the University of

National Economy; corresponding member of the Academy, Prof. and Dr. Chon Yong-sik, head of a chair of Kim Il-song University; U Tal-ho, first deputy director of the Kim Il-song Higher Party School; Chon Kum-chol, director of the Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland; and Yi Mong-ho, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with foreign Countries, read their papers on the subjects "The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-song Is the Founder and Leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Our Glorious Country," "The Founding of the DPRK is a Great Historical Event Which Marked the Origin of the Building of an Independent and Sovereign State in Our Times," "The DPRK is a True Country of the Korean People Which Guarantees the Dignity of the Nation and Its Endless Prosperity," "40 Years Covered by the DPRK Is a Glorious and Brilliant History During Which Our Country Has Been Converted Into a Powerful Socialist Country of Independence, Self-Reliance and Self-Defence Under the Banner of the Chuche Idea," "The State and Social Systems of the DPRK Are the Most Superior Systems in the World Which Provide the People With an Independent and Creative Life to the Full," "The Rock-Firm Unity and Cohesion of the Leader, the Party and the Masses Is the Source of the Ever-Victorious Might of the DPRK," "The Struggle of the South Korean People To Build an Independent and Democratic Government" and "The Idea of Independence, Friendship and Peace Maintained by the DPRK Is an Inspiring Banner Which Powerfully Rouses the Struggle of the Revolutionary People of the World for the Independence of the Whole World."

The speakers stressed that the founding of the DPRK and its endless prosperity and development are immortal human-historic exploits which have been performed by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the genius of revolution and construction, for the times and revolution.

They proved that the DPRK is a true country of the Korean people where the dignity of the nation and its eternal prosperity are ensured.

Our Republic is a great country under the guidance of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song and dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, the speakers said, and stressed: This is why the DPRK is the cradle of life which provides our people with true freedom and rights and a happy life and a genuine country which guarantees the dignity and eternal prosperity of the nation.

#### **President Receives Greetings**

SK2508045588 *Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0442 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 25 (KCNA)—Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received congratulatory messages from Andre Kolingba, president and head

of state of the Central African Republic and founder-chairman of the Democratic Rally of Central Africa, and Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Korean liberation.

The messages extended warmest congratulations to his excellency President Kim Il-song on the anniversary of the Korean liberation and expressed the belief that the friendly and cooperative relations existing between Korea and those countries would grow stronger and develop.

#### **Relay Groups Convey Loyalty**

SK3008045788 *Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0451 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—Relay groups for conveying letters of loyalty to the great leader President Kim Il-song and to the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are running to Pyongyang.

These groups of people from provinces, soldiers of the Korean People's Army, public security men and men of the Korean people's security forces, railway workers and school youth and children left the starting point and are now running the central lanes.

Working people of different strata, soldiers and school youth and children turn out to the streets, with ardent loyalty to the great leader and our party, to warmly cheer the relay groups.

#### **Kim Chong-il Gives Guidance to Cement Complex**

SK3108025188 *Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean*  
2100 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, and secretary, of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, on 30 August gave working guidance on the spot to the Sangwon cement complex which has recently been built and is at the stage of test loading.

Accompanying him were Comrades Kye Ung-tae and Ho Tam, members of the Political Bureau, and secretaries, of the WPK Central Committee; Comrade Kim Si-hak, member of the WPK Central Committee and director of a department of the party Central Committee; Comrade Pak Nam-ki, member of the WPK Central Committee and first deputy director of a department of the party Central Committee; and Chu Yong-hun, chairman of the Construction and Building Materials Committee, and other functionaries concerned.

Sangwon cement complex, which has been built as a large-scale modern base that produces construction and building materials, is an ultramodern plant where all production processes, from the input of raw materials to



the production of cement and the packing of goods, are automated and remote-controlled and where the level of the tidiness in production has reached a high stage.

The People's Army soldier-builders and construction workers participating in the construction of this plant with great honor and pride in creating the nation's lasting wealth, have in a short period of time wonderfully completed, with all the strength and wisdom at their disposal, the industrial construction of the sectors concerned, from the construction of the plant's main building to the bases where raw materials are extracted, the refractory ores base, the engineering and power base, and the transportation system, and the vast construction that includes the building of modern dwelling districts for the workers, all of which require a high degree of technology.

While looking around various sectors, including the production processes and cultural and welfare facilities inside the complex, Comrade Kim Chong-il expressed great satisfaction that the construction workers and technicians have wonderfully built the complex based on the chuche-oriented blueprint and construction methods as a model plant of the ultramodern industrial construction and that, at the same time, they have provided its own solid raw materials, fuel, and power bases as well.

Comrade Kim Chong-il highly appreciated that the party's policy on making the inside of the plant like a palace and the outside like a park had wonderfully been embodied by laying out well the various sectors of the complex according to geographical characteristics and by wonderfully organizing the inside and outside of the plant so as to ensure a high degree of tidiness in production and tidiness in life.

Comrade Kim Chong-il presented tasks that arise in completing the construction of the complex and in operating it.

Comrade Kim Chong-il stressed the need to sufficiently carry on loading tests until the production and technical processes fully discharge their formal capacity as envisaged in the blueprint so as to keep all the production and technical processes fully prepared.

Comrade Kim Chong-il emphasized that in order to normalize production at a higher stage after the complex begins operation, it is imperative to firmly organize the raw material base; keep it supplied with modern equipment, including extracting and transportation facilities; secure spare parts; and, at the same time, strengthen the work of training technicians.

Comrade Kim Chong-il noted the need to better organize the rear supply base for the workers so as to smoothly keep them supplied with such subsidiary foods as meat and vegetables and to run well the educational and cultural welfare facilities as well as the services network.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, stating that the Sangwon cement complex is a model plant when it comes to building modern industrial facilities, noted the need for plants and enterprises throughout the country to constantly increase production by energetically carrying on technological revolution and technical (?improvement) emulating the example of this enterprise.

All the construction workers and technicians at Sangwon cement complex are full of new determination to complete the construction and put it to operation at an earliest possible date.

**Paper Details Kim Chong-il's Article on Heroes**  
*SK3008223488 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
2149 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 30 (KCNA)—NODONG SIN-MUN today comes out with a signed article stressing that it is the requirement of our party and the unanimous desire of our people that all live a heroic life and wage a heroic struggle.

The article says:

Dear Comrade Kim Chong-il said:

"Our party demands that all people become heroes and everyone can become a hero in our society."

It is the desire of our people to live a heroic life and wage a heroic struggle, because to live a heroic life and become heroes are a most valuable and worthy life and the highest honor for the independent man.

A life that contributes to the society and collective is one not for an individual and for one's generation alone. It is a life creating an eternal future of the society and the collective. It is a life conforming to the independent essence of man and a worthy life discharging one's duty as a member of the society and collective.

Being an independent people, our people wage a self-sacrificing struggle for the society, the collective and the revolution. For this very reason all our people cherish it as boundless honor and desire to live a heroic life and become heroes which are the genuine life of an independent man.

It is the desire of our people to live a heroic life and wage a heroic struggle next because this is the way of adding lustre to socio-political integrity. The Korean people are a people who form a socio-political organism and each of whom enjoys socio-political integrity, united in one idea and one organisation under the leadership of the party and the leader and a people who are energetically striving to glorify it.



Noting that our party put forward a revolutionary slogan reading "Let all of us live and struggle heroically" reflects the unanimous desire and zeal of the Korean people. Represented in it is a noble intention of our party to bring up our people as an independent and immortal people.

The article goes on:

The requirement of our party and the desire of our people to live a heroic life and wage a heroic struggle is based on the firm faith that everyone can become heroes in our society.

As taught by dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, everyone can become a hero in our society.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, the proud first generation of heroes produced by our people, the heroes of the grim fatherland liberation war, the heroes in the postwar period of socialist revolution and socialist construction and the unassuming heroes today are all ordinary people.

If there are something extraordinary in them, it is their spirit of devoted service for the country and people and fidelity to the party and the leader.

Noting that everyone has been able to become a hero because the party and the leader have guided him to live a heroic life in our society, the article says that a large number of heroes have been brought up generation after generation under the care of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song.

**Hyesan-Manpo Youth Railway Line Opens**  
*SK2608045588 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0440 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 26 (KCNA)—The building of the Hyesan-Manpo Railway Line, the first-stage section of the Northern Railway lines, has been completed. The Hyesan-Manpo Youth Railway Line was opened to traffic with a grand ceremony at the Hyesan Youth Railway Station on August 25.

Yi Kun-mo, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and premier of the Administration Council, conveyed a congratulatory message of the WPK Central Committee to the Youth Shock Brigade members and railway builders who performed feats of labor in the building of the Hyesan-Manpo Youth Railway Line.

The message says:

The building of the Northern Railway Lines is a gigantic nature-remaking project to open up the northern inland area, develop abundant natural resources, ease the strain on transport, step up socialist economic construction and improve the people's standard of living.

The Northern Railway construction is a very large-scale, difficult project for linking the eastern and western parts of the country.

The Youth Shock Brigade members and the railway builders, who came rushing to the construction site of the Northern Railway Lines in hearty response to the calls of the party and the leader, have successfully completed the vast project of laying 252 kilometres of railways, excavating 76 tunnels and building 116 bridges and 42 railway stations in a little more than five years, giving full play to indomitable fighting spirit and unexcelled bravery and courageously pulling through difficulties and trials.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea highly estimates the feats performed by the Youth Shock Brigade members and railway builders who achieved great success in the laying of the Hyesan-Manpo Youth Railway Line in an indomitable fighting spirit under the leadership of the party and created a great wealth of eternal value for the prosperity of the country.

The Youth Shock Brigade members and railway builders are now confronted with the heavy yet honorable task to electrify the Hyesan-Manpo Youth Railway Line, carry out the second-stage project of the Northern Railway Lines and thus complete a new railway project linking the eastern and western parts of the country.

The message stresses that the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea firmly believes that they will creditably fulfil their revolutionary assignments as ever with loyalty to the party and the leader through collective innovations and live up to the trust and expectation of the party.

Choe Yong-hae, chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Socialist Working Youth, made a report at the opening ceremony.

He said:

The completion of the first-stage project of the Northern Railway Lines is a brilliant fruition of the chuche-oriented idea of railway building of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il-song and our party. He unfolded a grand blueprint of the building of new railway lines linking the eastern and western parts of the northern inland area, indicated concrete direction and ways and wisely led the builders to powerfully press ahead with the project.

Dear Comrade Kim Chong-il assigned young people to the construction of the Northern Railway Lines, the grand monumental edifice of the Workers' Party age, and energetically guided the new railway construction on the whole, solving all problems, big and small, arising in their work and life, and brought them up to be members of the glorious Workers' Party of Korea and heroes of construction and creation.

**VNS Assails Arrest of Students in South**  
*SK3108045288 (Clandestine) Voice of National*  
*Salvation in Korean to South Korea 0200 GMT*  
*18 Aug 88*

[Station commentary]

[Text] In this hour I will talk about the No Tae-u ring's arrest of those patriotic students who attempted to stage a demonstration in front of the American Embassy building. On 15 August the No Tae-u ring perpetrated the fascist outrage of arresting eight university students, including Yun Un-yong, a junior at Ehwa Women's University, who attempted to stage a demonstration in front of the American Embassy building, crying out the slogans, "Punish the ringleader of the Kwangju genocide and the enemy of reunification" and "Let us drive out American rascals who are scheming to split our country," on charges of violating the so-called law on demonstration and assembly. Such a fascist outrage by the military fascist clique is a vicious challenge to our patriotic masses who are demanding the truth of the Kwangju incident and who are calling for national reunification.

The Kwangju incident was a genocide perpetrated by the United States and the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u military group in a bid to prolong the colonial, military fascist dictatorial rule. As professed by Gleysteen, the then U.S. ambassador to South Korea, as soon as the Kwangju popular uprising erupted the United States handed South Korean Army units under its operational control over to the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u military group and manipulated the military group to brutally suppress the uprising. Under U.S. manipulation, the military group, which yearned for power, perpetrated the atrocity of brutally slaughtering thousands of Kwangju citizens who rose up in the struggle for independence, democracy, and reunification. Thus, the military group perpetrated the brutal atrocity of killing fellow countrymen, which incurs the wrath of heaven and man.

Kwangju citizens will never forget the Kwangju genocide perpetrated by the United States and the military group, and the grudge and indignation of Kwangju citizens will become stronger with each passing day. This is why all of our people are demanding the truth of the Kwangju incident and punishment of the ringleaders of the massacre in the name of history and the nation.

That youths and students attempted to stage a demonstration in front of the American Embassy, calling for the punishment of the ringleaders of the Kwangju massacre, constitutes the reflection of such public opinions of our people. Therefore, this cannot constitute a crime.

Nevertheless, the No Tae-u ring arrested the students who called for the punishment of the ringleaders of the Kwangju incident and attempted to detain them on charges of violating the so-called law on demonstration

and assembly. This is indeed an intolerable criminal act. The students' call for punishment of the enemy of reunification in front of the American Embassy was also a just act.

As shown in the course of the struggle for the 15 August North-South student talks, those who desperately oppose the reunification of our country are none other than the United States and the No Tae-u military group. The U.S. imperialists who have divided our country into two have schemed to divide the Korean peninsula permanently through their two Koreas plot in a bid to hold on to South Korea as a colony and military base.

Traitor No Tae-u, who has seized the seat of president with the approval of the United States, has paid lip service to dialogue, reunification, and the like. In fact, however, following the U.S. maneuvers to fabricate two Koreas, traitor No Tae-u has frantically run wild to split the country and the nation into two permanently by coming up with cross-recognition, and separate or simultaneous entry into the United Nations.

Reality clearly shows that as long as the U.S. imperialist aggressors, who desperately oppose reunification, and the military fascist group exist in South Korea the country's reunification cannot be achieved. Therefore, the act of youths and students demanding the punishment of the enemy of reunification is only too just. The treacherous act of the No Tae-u ring that has brutally suppressed our youths and students who are waging the anti-U.S. struggle for reunification is precisely an intolerable pro-U.S. treacherous and nation-selling act. It is also an antinational and antireunification act.

The No Tae-u ring should look straight at the trend of the times, should act discreetly, and should unconditionally and immediately release the arrested and detained youths and students.

#### Comparison of 4th Round of Talks With South

Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean at 2100 GMT on 26 August broadcasts an 18-minute report reviewing the fourth round of talks between delegates from North and South Korea to prepare for a North-South joint parliamentary meeting.

The 2100 gmt version has been compared with the Pyongyang Domestic Korean 1230 GMT version published in the 26 August East Asia DAILY REPORT, pages 9-12, revealing the following variations:

Page nine, second column, second paragraph, from end of third sentence, later version reads: ...problem of reunification.

Chon Kum-chol, the head of our side's delegation, saying that when it comes to the issue of the Olympics [as

heard], our side's proposal is, in every respect, reasonable, continued:

Needless to discuss further, the most pressing problems today, the settlement of which can no longer be delayed between the North and the South, are preventing war and solving the problem of the 24th Olympic Games such that they may serve to promote national reconciliation and peaceful reunification, not division and confrontation.

Should another war break out in our country because our politicians fail to take practical measures to ease tension while only paying lip service to easing the tension, we will not even talk about national reconciliation, dialogue, and reunification; our nation will not be able to avoid irreversible calamities; and the nation will be reduced to ruin. Our politicians cannot just look at this tragic situation, but must prevent the outbreak of war in our country at any cost. Toward this end, there is no other way but to discuss and solve problems that concern the draft declaration of nonaggression between the North and the South, which our side sent to the South side.

When the parliamentary... (supplying additional material)

Page ten, column one, paragraph six, from end of first sentence, later version reads: ...important national matters. (new paragraph)

Consequently, because of...(deleting six paragraphs).

Page eleven, column one, paragraph seven, second sentence, later version reads: ...be discussed as working-level procedures after our new proposal for convening a North-South combined parliamentary meeting has been discussed and decided on, stressed that the South side should not complicate discussions of problems by combining the form of...(providing queried words).

Page eleven, column two, from end of second paragraph, later version reads: ...the South side. (new paragraph)

The head our our side, at the final stage of the meeting, demanded that the...(deleting three paragraphs, providing additional passage)

Page twelve, first paragraph, second sentence, later version reads: ...South side was an attempt to hinder settling the question of...(providing queried word, rephrasing)

### South Korea

**Talks Over Rent on U.S. Embassy Building**  
SK3108013588 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD  
in English 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Text] Negotiations are underway between the government and the U.S. Embassy in Seoul over the rent for the embassy building in Sejong-no, a government source said yesterday.

He said the embassy's right to use the building, which is owned by the Korean government, free of charge formally expired in September, 1980, although the embassy has used it free since 1968.

The U.S. Embassy is planning to relocate to the old campus of Kyonggi Girls High School in Chong-dong near the residence of the U.S. ambassador.

According to the source, the government has informed the embassy of its intention to charge rent several times.

The embassy is known to have responded by saying that it would consult with Washington on the subject.

The source said, however, the Korean government has not decided if it will charge rent for use from 1980 or from the present.

The twin buildings on Sejong-no were built jointly by Korea and the United States in 1961 on a lot owned by the Korean government.

Korea paid \$1,150,000 of the total construction cost of \$3,210,000.

The Ministry of Reconstruction of Korea and the International Cooperation Agency of the United States made an agreement in May, 1962, which allowed the USOM (U.S. Operations Mission), a foreign aid agency, and other organizations which would succeed USOM functions to use one of the two buildings free.

The other building has been used as the Economic Planning Board's office.

The 1962 agreement said that the ownership of the buildings and land belonged to the Korean government, according to the source.

Former U.S. Amb. Porter asked the Korean government in May, 1968 to allow the U.S. Embassy to move to the building on the grounds that the embassy succeeded some of the USOM's functions. The USOM was replaced by the U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. AID) in July of the same year.

Choe Kyu-ha, then foreign minister, approved the U.S. request in June of that year.

The U.S. right to use the building free expired formally on Sept. 30, 1980 when the U.S. AID/Korea was closed.

The government decided to allow the embassy to continue to use it, considering the "special relationship between Korea and the United States," the source said.

The American Embassy in 1977 made a plan to build its own office on the land in Songhyon-dong, across from the vernacular daily HANGUK ILBO.



But the plan was foiled because of opposition from the Seoul City government against construction of a high-rise building on the compound, which is located near the presidential residence of Chongwadae.

In 1986, the embassy reached an agreement with Seoul City to trade the U.S. Information Service building across from the Hotel Lotte with the old campus of the Kyonggi Girls High School.

The United States will rent the current USIS building after the land swap to keep the USIS in the building.

#### Farther on Military Involvement in Assault Case

**O To Stay Until After Olympics**  
SK3108005388 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD  
in English 31 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] The government will not dismiss Defense Minister O Cha-pok in connection with the knifing of a local newspaper editor by military personnel until after the Olympics.

Army Chief of Staff Yi Chong-ku will retain his post but has been asked to issue an apology by O, informed government sources said yesterday.

All military personnel directly or indirectly involved in the assault will be court martialed, they said.

The government and the ruling DJP believe that firing O is undesirable because a National Assembly session and an ad hoc panel hearing on the Kwangju incident are scheduled next month.

O will probably be replaced sometime after the Seoul Olympic Games, when an overall cabinet reshuffle is to be made.

The sources noted that Gen. Yi was not aware of the attack beforehand.

Meanwhile, Defense Minister O Cha-pok yesterday tendered his resignation to Prime Minister Yi Hyon-chae in connection with the assault on journalist O Hong-Kun, according to sources at the ministry.

In the letter of resignation, O said he wanted to step down "for personal reasons," the sources said.

It was reported that the premier, however, returned the letter to the defense minister.

#### Editor on Investigation

SK3108005988 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD  
in English 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Brief Interview with O Hong-kun, city editor of CHUNGANG ECONOMIC DAILY; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Are you satisfied with yesterday's announcement by the Ministry of National Defense of the results of the investigation into the assault on you?

Answer: I haven't written stories critical of the military but the ill effects of the military culture. My articles carried in the March-August issues of the MONTHLY CHUNGANG never targeted a specific military unit. The Defense Ministry announcement said servicemen at the Army Intelligence Command committed the terrorist attack on me.

I can hardly understand why soldiers at the command, a unit on a special mission, organized the knife attack. I do not think the investigation results announced yesterday were complete and I hope the military authorities will expand the investigation.

Q: How do you feel now as the victim of an attack committed by military personnel?

A: I'm an advocate of free democracy, and believe that journalists should be the bulwark of free democracy. A terrorist attack on a journalist by soldiers saddens all journalists. I expect that the Aug. 6 attack will be the final one committed against a newspaperman.

Q: What do you mean by saying "the side effects of the military culture?"

A: It means, for instance, the ill effects stemming from such a way of thinking as "I should be treated in a special manner since I have privileges."

Q: Do you think that the military will render more democratization efforts in the future?

A: Although I myself am a victim of terror, I do hope the incident will serve as a turning point for the military in carrying out democratization steps.

Q: When the investigation stalled, a security guard of your apartment provided a decisive tip about the assault. What's your opinion about his attitude toward his duty and job.

A: To fulfill your own mission is a way to promote the development of the country's democratization.

Q: Will you continue to write news articles?

A: How else do you think I can lead my life without writing news stories?

Q: How's your health condition?

A: So so. The stab wound on my left thigh appears to heal up outwardly but became inflamed. I should have to receive medical treatment several days longer.

#### Major Attempts Suicide

SK3108004588 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD  
in English 31 Aug 88

[Text] Journalist O Hong-kun was assaulted by five military personnel on the orders of Brig. Gen. Yi Kyu-hong, commander of a detachment of the Army Intelligence Command, the Ministry of National Defense announced yesterday.

The five are Major. Pak Chol-su, Capt. An Son-ho and three noncommissioned officers—all under Yi's command.

Announcing the results of the investigation into the Aug. 6 attack, Yi Hung-sik, spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense, said the six servicemen have been arrested by military investigation authorities.

Also arrested was Brig. Gen. Kwon Ki-tae, chief of staff of the intelligence command, who attempted to cover up the incident, Yi said.

Maj. Gen. Yi Chin-paek, commander of the intelligence command, was relieved of his post yesterday for complicity in the cover-up attempt, he said.

Defense Ministry sources said Army Chief of Staff Gen. Yi Chong-ku recommended that President No Tae-u remove the two-star general because he was involved in the attack.

Maj. Gen. Yi will probably be arrested on charges of attempting to destroy evidence, the sources said.

The two brigadier generals were arrested on Monday. They had earlier been removed from their posts.

Yi was charged with violating the law regulating punishment against violent acts, and Kwon with attempting to destroy evidence of a criminal act.

Military investigators had earlier said more than 10 soldiers were involved in the assault, including the three generals and the four soldiers under arrest.

CID [Criminal Investigation division] sources said Pak attempted to kill himself last Thursday while undergoing interrogation.

They did not specify how he made the suicide attempt.

In the meantime, the knife used in the assault was specially manufactured for military purposes, according to the sources.

Earlier, the Military of National Defense said Pak purchased fruit knives for use in the attack, in an announcement of interim investigation results.

Yi ordered Pak to "chastise" O late last month, after reading an article he wrote about the side-effects of the military culture, the spokesman said.

Pak mobilized An and three noncommissioned officers—Nam Chong-song, Kim Ung-chip and Yi U-il—who punched and knifed O near his apartment in southern Seoul while the two officers watched from a distance.

Following reports that the military sedan used in the attack belonged to the intelligence command, Yi asked Kwon to help conceal the attack.

Kwon ordered his men to repaint the car and alter its operation records for the day of the assault.

Yi received reports on the incident from the two brigadier generals Aug. 11 but did not take necessary steps and condoned the attack.

The Army Criminal Investigation Division launched a full-fledged probe of the assault Aug. 17 in cooperation with police investigators.

The CID obtained a decisive tip Aug. 24 that led to the detention of Pak and the three noncommissioned officers.

Based on Pak's confession, investigators found that three generals at the intelligence command were behind the assault on O, city editor of the CHUNGANG ECONOMIC DAILY.

The Defense Ministry spokesman said those involved will face court martial.

The military authorities rendered maximum efforts to unveil the truth "at the risk of the honor of the military," he said.

He said the Defense Ministry would prevent the recurrence of such an unhappy incident, extending a sincere apology to the public.

#### Parties 'Shaken' Over Case

SK3108010788 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
31 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] The terrorist act involving military officers against a senior journalist has shaken the political circle, which otherwise has kept a low profile with political parties suspending political strife, before and during the forthcoming Seoul Olympics.

The ruling and opposition parties have expressed shock because the act of terror was committed systematically, involving two brigadier generals or the Army Intelligence Command.

The rival parties have a common fear that the incident suddenly stands in the way of democratization, but they have different voices in their demands for disciplinary measures against the officers involved.

The ruling Democratic Justice Party seeks to resolve the incident "swiftly but perfectly," leaving no room for doubt of a cover-up attempt.

DJP leaders acknowledge that the incident has inflicted great political damage to President No Tae-u. But they believe that a thorough investigation followed by stern punitive measures will restore people's trust in No's government.

In a statement Monday, the DJP lamented, "It was an act that pours cold water on our will for democratization... It was reckless violence by handful of military personnel that has tarnished the honor of the entire military."

The statement can be construed as a warning to military leaders that they should understand the will for democratization of President No and give their unsparing cooperation.

It should be taken as the DJP's firm will to take a rigid attitude towards ultra-rightist forces as well as against ultra-leftist groups.

Meanwhile, the opposition parties demanded a thorough investigation into the incident to bring the whole picture to light.

But they take a subtly different stand when it comes to the matter of placing responsibility apparently in fear of possible adverse reactions from the military.

The largest opposition Party for Peace and Democracy takes a prudent posture in asking for the dismissal of the military officers.

PPD president Kim Tae-chung has made it clear that his party will not demand the removal of Defense Minister O Cha-pok "because Minister O is a moderate person in the ruling camp."

However, the Reunification Democratic Party demanded a thorough investigation of the incident and the dismissal of Defense Minister O for his moral responsibility for it. In an exclusive meeting with President No, RDP president Kim Yong-sam urged No to dismiss Defense Minister O.

The Executive Council, the top decision-making body of the RDP, yesterday reaffirmed the party position that those who were directly involved in the incident as well as Minister O should take the responsibility.

A senior member of the RDP said, "Such an act by small number of military men should be eradicated for the honor of the military as a whole and for the nation's democratization."

**Opposition Seeks Resignation of Kim Yong-kap**  
*SK3108011388 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English*  
31 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Opposition lawmakers yesterday pressed Government Administration Minister Kim Yong-kap to resign for responsibility in what they called "extreme-rightist remarks threatening the people and endangering the festive Olympic atmosphere."

In an extraordinary Assembly Administration Committee session, they maintained that Kim's assertion on a constitutional amendment must have derived from the legacy of military rule and reflected an opinion of "extreme-rightist hard-liners."

The minister's controversial remarks weaved a web of ultra-rightist reactions such as the military servicemen's assault on a journalist and distribution of conservative pamphlets by the Home Ministry.

On Aug. 13, he said, "The current political structure will not be able to prevent the students' prevailing leftism," accusing the Party for Peace and Democracy of attacking import only to power irrespective of political ideology.

His insistence further went on to cite the need for the revision of the six-month-old Constitution to empower the President to disband parliament and "grave decision" by the administration after the Olympics.

The Assemblymen interrogated the minister about the substantial meaning of his remarks which they alleged foreshadow a post-Olympic military coup or emergency decree under a pretext to root out leftism.

Kim Chong-wan of the PPD claimed that a series of ultra-rightist actions are parts of scheme by "ultra-rightist Fascists" or the remaining followers of ex-president Chon Tu-hwan to keep hold on vested rights.

"His opinion on the constitutional revision is clear evidence of the legacy of decades-long military rule under which something unfavorable could be changed anytime," he said.

So Chong-won of the Reunification Democratic Party said that it was beyond the portfolio and due competence of the government administration minister to speak of a constitutional reform.

He urged him to resign from the Cabinet position, along with "political military officers bent on extreme-rightism."



Kim U-sok of the RDP claimed that the minister not only offered a stumbling block to the political arena which was leading to truce during the Olympic period but cast serious worry to the people.

They called for the presence of Prime Minister Yi Hyon-chae at the standing committee to give them a chance to ask him of the government's position on constitutional revision and rumored post-Olympic crisis.

Meanwhile, ruling Democratic Justice Party members generally advocated the minister's remarks except the opinion on a constitutional change.

They maintained that it is a pressing task for the government to drive out "leftist ideology plaguing students."

**DJP's Yun Kil-chung on Constitutional Changes**  
SK2908232288 Seoul KYONGHYANG SINMUN  
in Korean 23 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with DJP Chairman Yun Kil-chung by reporter Kang Sin-chol—place and date not given]

[Text] [Kang Sin-chol] Various views are being presented over how the political situation will develop following the Olympics. How do you feel over the structure of the political situation, in which the opposition parties have more seats in the National Assembly than the ruling party, a structure that emerged in the 26 February elections, and how do you think must the political situation be solved?

[Yun Kil-chung] My opinion is that no matter what difficult circumstances we may face, we can find a way for dialogue and negotiations when we strive to do so with patience. Politics must be focused on how to make the people live free from concern. However, they [the opposition parties] are devoting themselves to the special committees on Kwangju and the irregularities of the Fifth Republic in the name of bringing an end to the past. Because of this difference in views, many problems have emerged.

We are of the same opinion in bringing an end to the past. We attach significance to exposing irregularities, that must be exposed under any circumstances, and the truth of the matter that the people must know under any circumstances. Meanwhile, the opposition parties are, intentionally or unintentionally, indiscriminately probing into everything, small or big, on an emotional or retaliatory level.

The people feel uneasy over the fact that the ruling party is resorting only to defense, while the opposition parties are resorting only to offense. This also makes society unstable. The ruling and opposition parties have had the joint task of democratization since the 29 June declaration. However, forces that seek radical changes—forces that include communist-style changes in the concept of democratization—have emerged. This is a problem.

Therefore, some people even wonder if the government may deal with this too incompetently. It is desirable to severely deal with this for the purpose of maintaining law and order. Therefore, some opposition parties must not make the people feel uneasy by assuming opportunistic stands.

With the perception that both ultra-rightism and ultra-leftism are the enemies of free democracy, both the government and ruling party are making patient efforts to play a leading role in dialogue. Nevertheless, it is clear that the time has come to seek a new direction in reorganizing the political situation.

[Kang] You just talked about severely dealing with those forces and a necessity for reorganizing the political circle. Your statement is on par with that of Minister of Government Administration Kim Yong-kap, which caused a sensation. Is it not?

[Yun] They are not of the same dimension. As to the statement by Minister Kim, I think that "individuals are free to speak." It is not necessary to make a fuss over each word.

[Kang] A statement over reorganizing the political situation that you made during your visit to the Philippines created a sensation. Has nothing changed in your view on the necessity for a cabinet system and a coalition government?

[Yun] I said so from my conviction. NDRP President Kim also talked about the necessity for a cabinet system. However, we had never discussed it. The Constitution was revised last year. However, because of the popular sentiment that a direct election system equals democratization, we could not cool-headedly ponder over issues at that time. It is time to cool-headedly ponder issues from a forward-looking perspective.

[Kang] You presented your idea of political significance in a foreign country. Some people do not look at it in a good way.

[Yun] It is not desirable to talk about domestic affairs in foreign countries. In particular, one must not appeal to foreigners over domestic issues. However, I talked about them at a meeting with domestic reporters who were accompanying me then.

My case is different from appealing to or begging to those at press clubs in foreign countries, foreign heads of state, or foreign political leaders as if they were masters. If one talks about domestic affairs to our reporters, it does not matter whether he does that at a summer resort or in a foreign country.

[Kang] Over the prospects of the political situation following the Olympics, some people worry that the political situation will be in confusion because of price increases, labor disputes, and the spread of leftist-leaning sentiment, and other people even worry that a crisis may take place.

[Yun] In a word, I am optimistic about the situation following the Olympics. I expect and firmly believe that the Olympics will be held successfully and that when the Olympics are over, the people will highly evaluate the strong will of the government and the patience of the parties. The political situation will in no way be unstable when the Olympics are over.

[Kang] The special National Assembly committees on the Fifth Republic are being heated because some furniture pieces were removed from the official mansion of the South Cholla Provincial governor [where a special presidential retreat is located] and because the government refused to hand over some data. Many disputes will take place because of a dispute over a testimony by former President Chon Tu-hwan or other matters. How will you deal with the activities of the special committees?

[Yun] We have no intention to cover up irregularities. The Kwangju situation must not end up in smoke. We must choose among irregularities that must be brought to an end at all costs. However, while finding the truth about the Kwangju situation, we must find a solution to it. The ruling and opposition parties must devote efforts to solve the issues, instead of only denouncing each other or dealing with the issues after magnifying them. Reciprocal political decisions must be made on the main issues.

[Kang] "Reciprocal political decisions" mean decisions by not only opposition parties but also the ruling party. Decisions must also be made on testimonies by former presidents. Is it not correct?

[Yun] We oppose testimonies by former presidents not because they must have the privilege not to testify but because the dignity of the state is at stake. The opposition parties demand their testimonies not because their testimonies are necessary for dealing with concrete cases, but rather because they demand their testimonies on vague grounds or to launch political offensives.

Even former presidents must be investigated if they were involved in corruption and irregularities. However, this matter must not be dealt with emotionally on the basis of rumors. It would be a different matter if they hid property overseas or embezzled government money. Mistakes in policy making and irregularities and corruption are very different matters. They can testify if they were involved in concrete irregularities.... (ponders for a while) There is a method of explaining, not testifying.

[Kang] In view of the problems focused on, do you have any plan, as chairman of the party, to visit former president Chon, who founded the party and who was its first president?

[Yun] I had never met him personally when he was president of the party. However, I met him last month when I visited him following his retirement from all public offices.

In the difficult situation following the 26 October incident, those who have no political ambition took over politics, though one may call it a coup d'etat or a revolution. That was the Fifth Republic, and they did a lot of good things. We should acknowledge their merits, but we get an impression that the opposition parties are trying to ignore all these merits, behaving as if they had brought about a revolution as victors in it. I disagree with this sort of idea.

[Kang] As to the ruling party's attempt to include the irregularities of the opposition party politicians in the investigation of irregularities of the Fifth Republic, the opposition parties are assuming a very repulsive attitude, describing this attempt as "blackmail."

[Yun] It is far from blackmail. It should be regarded as contradictory that they pretend to be saints themselves while investigating the irregularities of other people. I doubt that we must dig into the source of political funds—a necessary evil of politics—but I am equally opposed to their attitude of raising their voice, pretending that they, and no one else, are free from irregularities.

[Kang] Do you mean that the ruling party may not call for an investigation of the opposition parties if the opposition parties lower their voice on this issue?

Reporter's note: Chairman Yun Kil-chung avoided giving a direct answer to this question.

[Yun] What I want to say as a senior politician is that politics should catch up with the standard of the people. It is low-standard behavior to dig and expose, magnify it, and incite the people's feelings.

[Kang] Some people say that the DJP is lacking a centripetal point and is not efficient in coping with the political situation, and it seems that there is criticism within the ruling party that the ruling party is neglecting the proruling party force while excessively trying to win the favor of those who are critical of the ruling party.

[Yun] We have made such an error. We held an idealistic concept as well in which we endeavored to take in as many new people as possible, in the changing mode of perception and conception, to bring forth a new picture.

This, in a way, proved detrimental to the unity of the party. We should pay attention to the strata of people who support us and think first of the majority of those people who supported us and desire stability.

[Kang] We think that the issue of interim evaluation will be raised in a full-fledged manner following the Olympics. Do you have any specific plan?

[Yun] We should enlarge the sound conservative forces, including the middle-income circles and sincere workers, put forward a policy that gives hope not only to the middle-income circles but also to the urban populace and the farming and fishing people, and then let the people evaluate us. However, we have not decided on any specific method yet.

[Kang] Are you planning to connect the interim evaluation with a vote of confidence for the president?

[Yun] Asking for a vote of confidence through evaluation is not required by law. But if we fail to win the approval of the majority of the people in the interim evaluation, we may need a political decision.

[Kang] In connection with the reformulation of political circles following the Olympics, how do you think the party will find the centripetal point of the party and when do you think the leading candidates, including the presidential candidate, will come to the surface?

[Yun] [Suddenly raising his voice] I will absolutely oppose it if someone advocates a president-centered system after the current one. I am sick and tired of idolizing one person. The president-centered system is one that fabricates charisma and makes the people foolish. Is there any country on earth, other than the United States, where the presidential system is successful?

[Kang] If there is anything you would like to add in conclusion, please do so.

[Yun] Much have been said about the opposition parties earlier, and the people are doing fine, too. I will say something about the government. The law-abiding spirit should not be loosened in the process of democratization. The government should not be overly attentive to everybody's opinion but should take a firm step against the trend of making little of the law. Now is the time for it to take a more firm attitude.

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[Article by Yu Chong-ha: "College Campuses Swept by Anti-American Movements"]

[Text] Master Cho Song-man: The Meaning of His Death  
The red stream,  
It calls  
I live in labor, grudgingly.

Golden rice everywhere, but  
Only weeds for me.  
The Korean peninsula's bloody tears  
Spring up,  
At least let me live on a paddy dike....

The red stream,  
It calls To you,  
To cut the chains that bind To my body, my soul,  
Squirming Barely alive.  
Oh, awake Korean peninsula!

This is a passage from "Awake Korean Peninsula," a poem written and left behind by Master Cho Song-man, who stabbed himself in the abdomen and leaped to his death from Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral on 15 May 1988. Cho entered Seoul National University's Chemistry Department in 1984 and returned to school after taking a break to fulfill his obligatory military service. What drove this average young man to take his own life?

"I just really don't understand it. Most adults and even opposition politicians think older brother Cho Song-man committed suicide over freeing the political prisoners. I mean saying he died just because of the political prisoner release issue is like saying the No Tae-u regime trotted out nothing but the political prisoner issue on which to base a claim to a new era. Of course, freedom for political prisoners is an important prerequisite for democratization, and it is a fact that older brother Cho cut his stomach and leaped from the building yelling, Release prisoners of conscience. But more than anything else, what drove older brother Cho to suicide is the reality that our fatherland is subordinate to a foreign power, which leaves us no choice but to groan under the burden of national division."

These are the words of Master L, a senior at Seoul National University, speaking on 19 May 1988 at the funeral service for Master Cho Song-man at Seoul Citizens' Park on the grounds of the former Kyonghui Palace. In point of fact, broadcast and newspaper reporting of Master Cho's suicide said that Cho "jumped to his death demanding freedom for prisoners of conscience," or similar formulations. The media, however, failed to report key portions of Cho's will.

Master Cho's will advocated four things: 1) No one at all may be allowed to obstruct the unification of the Korean peninsula; 2) The United States must be expelled from the Korean peninsula; 3) The military government must be overthrown; and 4) The Olympics must be jointly hosted. In sum, Cho's will raises the issues of self-reliance, democracy, and unification, and lays special emphasis on the twin issues of the "anti-American struggle" and "unification of the fatherland." These phrases serve to underscore that, in today's student movement, the anti-American struggle and the Fatherland unification struggle are not separate issues but are



instead perceived to be logically linked, comprising a single task for struggle. For the sake of convenience, this article will focus on the anti-American struggle and examine recent anti-American student activities.

#### Intensification of the Anti-American Struggle [subhead]

Many people believe that the anti-American struggle in 1988 is more intense than at any other time in Korean history. Korea's anti-American struggle, of course, was ignited in 1980 by the "Kwangju incident," and by now everyone is aware that the myth that "Korea is virtually the only place in the world where no anti-American movement exists" has been dashed forever. The question is, though, what caused the flames of anti-Americanism to flare so fiercely in 1988?

Student activists point first to changes in the political situation, especially the inauguration of the No Tae-u government and the hosting of the Olympics games. From the point of view of the No Tae-u regime and of the United States, student activists believe, Korea's military dictatorship underwent nothing more than a management change in 1988, and relations between Seoul and Washington underwent a period of consolidation. American support helped to stabilize the new No Tae-u government in the process. In exchange for its aid to the No regime, the United States was able to secure a foundation on which to maximize its political, military, and economic interests in Korea. Particular examples of this are to be found in 1) the perpetuation of the division of South and North by holding a divided Olympiad; 2) strengthened bonds between Washington and the new Seoul government; 3) increased military subjection through such expedients as boosting the burden shouldered by Korea for the upkeep of United States Forces in Korea; 4) coercion to open import markets for American industrial manufactures, beef, and other livestock products; and 5) continued U.S. pressure to raise the exchange rate. Since each of these imposes sacrifices on the Korean masses, it is explained, the anti-American struggle by "patriotic, democratic forces" can only intensify.

At the same time, however, purely internal developments in the student movement and other activist movements appear to have greatly affected their development. After the opposition defeat in the presidential election, for example, the student movement found it necessary to chart new directions to heal the serious disunity and lethargy that gripped it. And anti-Americanism was an issue ideally suited to this purpose. Slogans yelled early in 1988 by some student activists provide a glimpse into the prevailing internal situation of the student movement: "Achieve grand solidarity through anti-Americanism."

Thus the "anti-American movement" began to emerge as a unifying issue in the student movement. The first concrete evidence of this appeared in the form of a "New Year's Struggle Resolution Conference" held at Seoul National University's Student Union on 11 January 1988. The prevailing issue of the day was condemnation

of the allegedly corrupt presidential election, under slogans like "Reveal the facts behind the Kuro Ward Office incident." Thus, when the conference resolved that the first task should be the "anti-American struggle," it was regarded as an anomaly at odds with mainstream student condemnation of the presidential election process. The conference failed to attract widespread attention because many believed that it was more urgent to pursue the struggle against the corrupt presidential election and to prepare for the upcoming general elections. Many, therefore, opposed the idea of an active anti-American struggle, as proposed at the conference.

On 18 January 1988, however, 5000 farmers of the National Dairy Farmers Association held a "Block U.S. Beef Import Rally" in front of Yoido's National Assembly Building. Confronted with this impressive display of public reaction to American pressure for unrestricted imports, student activists responded swiftly on the anti-Americanism issue, sponsoring a "Grand Discussion of American Market Opening Pressure and Conference to Condemn U.S. Economic Aggression" only three days later, on 21 January. As April's general election neared, the student movement lacked a basic, unifying struggle issue, and fell into a state of disarray. The anti-American struggle, however, continued to build steam, assuming an overwhelming relative importance amid a vacuum of struggle issues prevailing in those weeks and finding expression in increasingly direct and concrete ways.

#### The Young Students National Salvation Suicide Squad [subhead]

"We are the noble sons and daughters of the magnanimous Paedal Race, the Korean masses.

"As we assess the present situation, we see that the fate of our fatherland has fallen permanently into the grasp of American dominion and aggression. We cannot merely sit idly by and watch. Moreover, we can no longer sit idly by while the masses groan once again under the oppression of military dictatorship. We swear by our burning patriotic hearts that we will stand in the vanguard of the struggle for national salvation, offering up our hearts and bodies in all purity.

"16 February, the 44th year of national division.

"Oath of the Young Students National Salvation Suicide Squad."

At 1700 on 24 February 1988, one day before No Tae-u was inaugurated president of the Sixth Republic, five students from Korea, Yonsei, Hanyang, Kukmin, and Ihwa Women's universities occupied the second floor of the American Cultural Center in Seoul. The students yelled anti-American slogans and conducted a sit-in for 50 minutes before police took them all into custody. It was announced that these students had "resolved to enter the American Cultural Center in order to punish the renewal of military dictatorship and the United

States of America for supporting military dictatorship," and that these students had organized the "Young Students National Salvation Suicide Squad."

At about 0900 on 26 February 1988, 2 days after this incident, a homemade bomb (incendiary device) was discovered in the book shelves on the first floor of the American Cultural Center in Kwangju. It was announced that this device was built by a Yonsei University student who was a member of the National Salvation Suicide Squad.

Occurring as it did during a period of heightened tension only hours before the new president's inauguration, the Seoul American Cultural Center occupation incident triggered an extraordinary shock wave domestically and within the international community as well. The shock was all the stronger because an explosive device had been used in an attack on a U.S. Government entity, even though the crude, homemade contrivance itself was designed neither to kill nor wound. The incident also served as a warning, bursting like a flare with the message that the anti-American struggle was to be a central preoccupation of the student movement. For example, written materials prepared by the National Salvation Suicide Squad—its oath, statement, and a diary—were read by large numbers of students after they were edited and published in pamphlet form by the Seoul Area Federation of University Student Representatives under the title "Oh, Comrade, Oh My Comrade." Analysts believe that the occupation of the American Cultural Center and the subsequent publishing of documents prepared by the occupiers provided the major impetus for a psychological upswing in the anti-American struggle enjoyed during this period. Let me quote one passage from the statement as printed in the pamphlet.

"...We understand clearly that the United States is the basic enemy who prevented us from achieving democracy, both through the Kwangju incident and in the presidential election. Therefore, we see clearly that democracy cannot flourish in this 'and until we are freed from the United States. Not a single soul ventures to assert any more that the United States is the guardian of world peace or the motherland of democracy.... The United States is precisely the power that acted as the chief instigator to divide our fatherland, precisely the power that stage-managed dictatorship in this country....' ("Young Pupils Devote Their Hearts to the Proud Korean Masses")

These perceptions influenced the development of the student movement, widening its scope and at the same time focusing it on concrete issues. During the Seoul National University student body presidential campaign, for example, one candidate proposed direct talks between students of South and North Korea, bringing the fatherland unification struggle to the front burner

and turning up the heat. As May began, the students altered their focus, pushing for revelation of the facts of the Kwangju incident and for punishment of those responsible for it.

The South-North student talk proposal and the focus on the Kwangju struggle merged to pour fuel on the flames of the students' anti-American struggle.

At 11:30 am on 20 May 1988, one day after Master Cho So-ug-man's funeral, a group of students hurled homemade explosive devices at the U.S. Embassy on Seoul's Sejong Avenue, Chongno Ward, sparking another shock wave. Seven university students hurled explosive devices they had made themselves, rushed inside the embassy compound, and unfurled a large banner reading "Expel U.S. Imperialism, Chief Perpetrator of the Kwangju massacre." Ripping a Stars and Stripes to shreds, the students demonstrated for about five minutes before police took them into custody. The young people were members of the Students Struggle League To Secure the Masses' Right to Survival and To Punish the Chief Perpetrators of the Kwangju Massacre, the United States-Blue House Dictators, which was itself subordinate to the Patriotic Youth Suicide Squad, which was in turn subordinate to the Seoul Area General Federation of Students.

The students who entered the U.S. Embassy grounds scattered leaflets titled "Struggle Statement of the Patriotic Youth Suicide Squad" in which they advocated punishment for the ringleaders of the Kwangju Massacre—the U.S. Imperialists and Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u—and the joint hosting of the Olympics. They wrote that "the survival of the Korean people hangs in the balance, hostage to nuclear weapons; the operational control of our Armed Forces was villainously used as authority to massacre patriotic Kwangju citizens; and the pure Paedal [Korean] civilization is being polluted by Yankee culture." The students also said in a meeting with the press at Chongno Police Station that, "we tossed homemade bombs at the U.S. Embassy—which functions as a colonial governor general—to punish the U.S. imperialists who have colonized Korea." They added that "we believe our actions will act as a torch to guide the struggle to expel the United States from this land."

A series of attacks on U.S. governmental facilities occurred in quick succession. On 23 May 1988, three days after homemade bombs had been hurled at the U.S. Embassy, an incident occurred in which dozens of student members of the May Suicide Squad of Chonnam University demonstrated at Kwangju's U.S. Cultural Center, throwing gasoline bombs at the building and clambering onto the building's roof to shout anti-American slogans. On 26 May 1988, three days later, more than 30 college students threw three gasoline bombs at the Pangpae Subward Branch of the KorAm Bank, demonstrating and shouting "Eject the American bastards who force us to open imports!"

During this period, two other college students chose to follow Cho Song-man down the path to suicide, leaving behind anti-American statements and shocking the Korean people.

On 18 May 1988 at Dangook University's Chonan Campus, Master Choe Tok-su (sophomore, College of Law) set himself alight, dying on 26 May and leaving behind a statement in which he said, "I learned in school only that the United States was our eternal ally, but this same United States tacitly approved, aided, and abetted the Kwangju Massacre and then went on to act as a co-betrayer." On 4 June 1988, the Student Body President of the College of Humanities, Sungsil University, Pak Nae-chon (junior, Korean Literature) poured paint thinner over his body and set himself afire, yelling "Punish the party responsible for the Kwangju Massacre," and dying three days later on 7 June.

The anti-American struggle intensified and spread. Student organizations, of course, but also many dissident, religious, and youth groups as well joined to organize the "National Joint Struggle Committee To Reveal the Facts of the Kwangju Massacre and Punish Those Responsible," which then proclaimed 27 May 1988 as "Venerate the Kwangju Dead and Anti-American Struggle Day" and held a "Citizens Grand March to Punish the Chief Perpetrators of the Kwangju Massacre and To Condemn the United States, Manipulator of Kwangju." But on the night of the 27th, police prevented some 4,000 students and citizens from gathering at their rally site, causing them to spread out and conduct scattered demonstrations throughout Seoul's Myongdong-Uljiro district until late into the night, shouting such slogans as "Kick out the American Bastards, Masterminds of the Kwangju Massacre."

The Anti-American Struggle "Popularizes" and "Generalizes" [subhead]

The anti-American struggle that flamed up as 1988 got under way has been marked by a few general characteristics. These can be divided into two broad categories, "popularizing," and "generalizing."

First, as is now apparent, the anti-American struggle has progressed from a state in which a limited number of students issued condemnatory statements to a broadly based movement with roots well established among the public at large. On 6 June 1988, a vernacular daily newspaper reported the results of a very interesting opinion survey. Responses to the question, "What is your view of the United States," were distributed as follows: A) 31.1 percent of the respondents said the United States was Korea's traditional ally and will remain so in the future; B) 38.6 percent said the United States was friendly to Korea only when it coincided with American interests, and will continue to do so in the future; and C) 15.8 percent said the United States sacrifices Korea for the sake of its own national interests, and will continue to do so in the future. These results suggest that the numbers of Korean citizens who harbor

critical views of the United States has increased dramatically when compared to the past. The propensity for anti-Americanism among college students, of course, is very much greater, as revealed in a number of opinion polls. (For example, more than 80 percent of new freshmen selected anti-American responses on an opinionaire administered to matriculating students by Seoul National University's Life Research Center.) Student and dissident activists point toward precisely this "turn toward anti-Americanism" as evidence that the anti-U.S. struggle is making significant inroads into the public at large.

However, some hold differing views. A Seoul National University Social Science Department graduate, Mr P (29, white collar worker) takes a cautious, questioning stance, saying, "It's a fact that perceptions that the United States was a 'blood brother' or 'eternal ally' are changing. But I think it is a bit hasty to look at this single poll and conclude that anti-Americanism is spreading. For example, can response B) be regarded as indicative of an anti-American attitude?"

Second is the generalizing of the anti-American struggle. Master Ham Un-kyong, who led the occupation and sit-in at Seoul's American Cultural Center in 1986 said the following in a speech he presented in March of 1988.

"Three years ago, I was too much the coward. I didn't shout a single anti-American phrase. ....

"You're anti-American, huh?"

"No. I'm not anti-American. We just came in here to see if we could improve ROK-U.S. relations,' I told them, not daring to go beyond this hackneyed answer.

"But today 'Yankee go home' comes very naturally to our lips."

As even this single statement makes clear, the present perception among activist students is simply that the United States is a foreign power in Korea and therefore the only possible solution is to eject the U.S. from the country. This is the perception upon which the anti-American struggle is based. Indeed, when it comes to methods of pursuing the struggle, this same perception also provides impetus to adopt such means as physical attack, for example, by use of homemade explosive devices. The anti-American views of the dissident, religious, and youth movements, of course, are less stringent than those of the students, but recently these groups have gone so far as to establish an "Anti-American Struggle Day" and hold street rallies as well. I believe this reveals a broad generalization of the anti-American struggle.



### Why the Anti-Americanism? [Subhead]

An article in a university newspaper put our people's attitude toward the United States into three classifications: First, worship-America toadyism; second, anti-anti-Americanism; and third, anti-Americanism. Worship-America toadyism is based on a narrow cold-war world view, on the perception that "America is the highest good, our blood ally." After liberation, this was the idea that was pounded into our brains by the education system and by observing the course of our politics until it was subliminal. This perception of America is not confined merely to the "foreign aid generation" raised on "handshake trade mark flour" but is said to be quite prevalent among the nation's youth even today.

Secondly, the anti-anti-American position is that, "It is a fact that there are problems in America, or in the ROK-U.S. relationship, but the solution to these problems cannot be found in anti-Americanism." I would place the earlier stages of the students' anti-American struggle into this category, as I would the perceptions of the United States held by today's opposition political parties.

Thirdly, the out-and-out anti-American viewpoint simply goes one logical step beyond the last category. If the search for the sources of the various problems plaguing Korean society settles on the United States as the chief villain, then the scathing "Go back to your own country" will continue. This is the perception that forms the foundation of the anti-American struggle.

The activist students' "anti-U.S. movement" takes as its first task the smashing of worship-America toadyism, the first of the three classifications of attitudes toward the United States. We must first bury the idea that the "U.S. is unconditionally right, and that we can't survive if we are separate from the United States." Student activists strongly emphasize this point as a basic subject in their own educational programs.

Their second priority is overcoming anti-anti-American perceptions. The explanation given here is that if only people can be made to recognize the real truth about America's nature and the ROK-U.S. relationship, then anti-anti-Americanism can be overcome very easily. To aid in this part of the struggle, the students point to the fact that even as late as the seventies it was difficult for anyone to imagine an anti-U.S. struggle in Korea, but the United States revealed its true face in the Kwangju massacre, thereby igniting a flaring of anti-Americanism that has become an accepted fact of Korean society today.

Let's review remarks made by Master L (expelled junior, Seoul National University) who was imprisoned for involvement in a 27 February 1988 on-campus demonstration but later released.

"Many people ask students, 'Why are you anti-American?' We reply, 'We have no choice but be anti-American.' Based on a review of the past few decades of our

history and even on what I've experienced myself over the last few years, I believe that the only way to start solving the problem is to defy the United States and achieve self-reliance for Korea. The opposite position, 'Well, anti-Americanism is not helpful,' is unconvincing to me because it represents an irresponsible approach that closes its eyes to existing reality."

What, then, is the reason that activist students have "no choice but to be anti-American?"

From "A Warning to the United States-Chongwadae" by the "Young Students National Salvation Suicide Squad" we read: "We can no longer tolerate a foreign country twisting our sovereignty around its finger anyway it chooses. No longer will we fail to reject flatly any plot, any logic, that aims to perpetuate the control by a foreign power or our right to survival."

The term "United States-Chongwadae dictatorship" has recently gained general currency among the students and is used in the same way that the phrase "United States-Marcos dictatorship" was used during the democratization process in the Philippines. The term reveals how the students perceive America's relationship with the present government. It remains true that many Koreans still believe that the United States acts as the guardian not only of its own democracy but of democracy in other countries around the world and aids in the development of Korean democracy as well. The students, however, believe that the United States has consistently supported military dictatorship in Korea, has blocked the development of Korean democracy, and in the final analysis does not want democracy for Korea. Thus the students perceive the United States government and Korea's military government to comprise a single dictatorial system, to which they ascribe the term "United States-Chongwadae Dictatorship."

"Once in a while the United States displays a kind of Santa Clause mentality by restraining the right-wing military and making Korea a present of a chunk of democracy. But America's genuine interest is not human rights in Korea or Korean democratization but rather the stability of Korea as a strategic, forward-deployed, anti-Soviet base. Is there any other reason why the United States supports a new round of military dictatorship and assures stability at the decisive moments in history when the Korean people rise up to do battle with military dictatorship? The pattern was clearly revealed in the coup d'etats of 16 May 1961 and 12 December 1979. On each occasion, the United States first adopted an ambiguous attitude toward the incoming military and then quickly threw its support to the successive military regimes of Pak Chong-hui and Chon Tu-hwan."

However inadequate this depiction, the fact is that it has become an integral part of the world view not just of radical students but of the general body of college students as well. What fixed this perception in concrete more than anything else was the American attitude about

the Kwangju incident. After the Yusin System collapsed, Washington first provided decisive support of the suppression in Kwangju to the same military leaders who had seized de facto power in the "12 December 1979 coup d'etat" and then formed with the government of these military figures a "ROK-U.S. coupling" stronger than at any time in the past, establishing the new pattern of "United States-Blue House dictatorship." The outburst of anti-Americanism led by the student movement after 1980 can be understood only by grasping this line of reasoning.

The students make the same claim about the so-called Sixth Republic. They say that in last year's presidential election the United States openly threw its support behind the candidate who typified the politicized military officer, the candidate best positioned to guarantee maximum attention to American interests. They say the United States used its good offices to arrange a visit to Washington for this candidate, once again making American support unmistakably clear. At the time, this candidate's visit to the United States was jokingly referred to on campuses as an American-style "crown prince selection rite." Moreover, the perception was that the United States managed to quickly ratify its selection through the mechanism of a rigged election, successfully achieving a reorganization of Korean military dictatorship. In a word, the leadership was changed, but the "United States-Chongwadae Dictatorship" managed to get off to a new beginning.

#### Anti-War, Anti-Nuke, Yankee Go Home [subhead]

For some time now, the "Anti-War, Anti-Nuke Song" has been invariably sung at "anti-American demonstrations" and student rallies. The students always chant the refrain of this piece as if it were a slogan, raising both arms high overhead: "Anti-war, anti-nuke, Yankee go home!" Activist students claim that there are now 1,000 U.S. nuclear weapons in Korea. The official position of U.S. Government authorities is neither to confirm or to deny the students' claim.

However, director of the Department of Korean Research at Harvard University's Fairbank Center, Gregory Henderson, delivered a speech in February 1986 in which he said that six or seven hundred nuclear weapons were stored in Korea. The so-called "Weinberger Report," a secret estimate leaked in 1983 to the amazement of the world and officially called the "1984-88 Fiscal Year Defense Program of the Department of Defense," revealed the possibility of nuclear warfare on the Korean peninsula. Activist students spare no efforts to use examples like these to underscore the seriousness of the nuclear crisis confronting the Korean peninsula and to emphasize the extent of Korean subordination to Washington's anti-Soviet strategy. The precondition to real peace on the Korean peninsula is removal of nuclear

weapons. Some academicians, of course, say that the students' position on this matter is naive because it does not consider the overall military dynamic in the Far East.

Whatever the case, the fate of the Korean peninsula must remain subordinate to the United States so long as that country positions nuclear weapons in Korea and exercises the right of jurisdiction over them. The joint rallying cry of activist students will remain "America, get out and take your nuclear weapons with you."

The statement of Mr P, a junior at Seoul National University and a member of an antipollution group, is typical of those who perceive that Korea has a serious nuclear crisis.

"In a word, the Korean peninsula has become America's nuclear wasteland. The United States adheres to a global strategy designed to project strong control around the world. In this global strategy, the Korean peninsula is a forward base with a high strategic value, so the U.S. has nuclearized Korea, right? Washington did not do this in the interests of the Korean people, but rather solely in Washington's own interests. Thus, the United States supports a pro-American government rather than a self-reliant Korean government, division rather than unification, and the threat of war rather than peace. In the final analysis, we find ourselves in a situation where at any time a single judgment can be made by no more than a few Americans and result in the extermination of our people from the face of the earth, right?"

The students' anti-American logic seeks to disclose the basic cause for the division of the fatherland. In this regard, most students point often to Washington's so-called "two Koreas policy." Immersed in the cold war era after the end of World War II, the United States pursued a strategy of containment toward the socialist bloc, using the Korean peninsula as a front line from which to pursue this policy. The United States placed top priority on building a strong, anti-communist ruling group in Korea with the intent of serving American interests, but in the end what they achieved was to block the unification of the peninsula, the cherished wish of the Korean people. The students hold that the United States simultaneously provided unswerving support for military dictatorship, adhering to a policy of extreme anticommunism that served to perpetuate tension between South and North rather than promote reconciliation, and also froze the DMZ into a permanent national boundary.

Nor is that all. Activist students fault the United States for ceaselessly pressing the idea of division onto our people. A people separated for more than 44 years needs a concept of solidarity to help them travel the road to unification (for example, the grand national solidarity of the 4 July Joint Statement), but in 1974 Secretary of State Kissinger enunciated a policy of simultaneous admission of South and North into the United Nations

and the cross recognition of each by the four great powers, a policy that made national division a permanent fait accompli. Also, the students believe that the United States has striven to involve the interests of the great powers in Korean unification, an essentially local issue related to the grand solidarity of the Korean people themselves, an approach rooted deeply in the cold war idea of division.

These views are key links that build the popular perception that the anti-American struggle cannot be separated from the issue of unification. From the beginning of 1988, the anti-American struggle and the struggle for fatherland unification flared up simultaneously. And the two issues were firmly linked in the minds of countless students who gathered in the streets on 10 June 1988, yelling "Kick out the American bastards who thwart fatherland unification" and "Kick out the American bastards who demand a divided Olympics!" Thus, anti-Americanism has emerged as a basic precondition for the fatherland unification struggle. "At the present stage," to quote a speaker using admirable precision, "the central task for our energies is the anti-American, self-reliance struggle. The struggle for unification of the fatherland can be accomplished as a subset of that central task." The position is clear: intensification of the anti-American struggle will result in growing popular support and participation, while intensification of the unification struggle will not.

Thus, the student movement anticipates widening popular participation in the unification issue through the good offices of the anti-American struggle. Moreover, the deadlines agreed to last May in the ROK-U.S. trade talks relating to lower prices for American tobacco are fast approaching, and these deadlines will shortly trigger a practical, concrete, anti-American impact. In the end, beef imports are bound to be opened up as well, stiffening resistance by farmers as a result. Moreover, the two governments agreed at the ROK-U.S. Security Consultative Meeting held in Seoul in early June 1988, that the Korean side would provide "40 million dollars in defense costs as burden sharing," throwing new fuel on the anti-U.S. fire. As these elements merge, the outlook is for the anti-American tide to surge even stronger, especially as the National Assembly investigates the facts of the Kwangju incident and the U.S. role again surfaces as a point of dispute.

#### The U.S. Response [subhead]

If anti-American sentiment is set to grow, what is the position of the United States government and its officials, the targets of this intensifying anti-American struggle? The American media gave thorough coverage to the citizens and students who attended Mr Cho Sung-man's funeral on 19 May 1988 and then went on to throw stones at Seoul's U.S.I.S. building and who the next day hurled homemade explosive devices at the U.S. Embassy in the capital. The stories revealed concern about the spread of anti-Americanism and the use of violence. U.S.

State Department spokesman Charles Redmond, for example, revealed vehement criticism in his statement: "There is no room to excuse that kind of violence."

The fact is that from its vantage point, the United States sees the presidential election, which brought the Sixth Republic to power, and the National Assembly election to be successive examples of an "epoch-making Korean advance toward democracy," and as a result Washington expects ROK-U.S. relations to improve. This perception was made crystal clear on 12 May 1988 in a statement by Congressman Stephen Solarz at a session of the U.S. House of Representatives Asia-Pacific Subcommittee. Solarz anticipated: "I think that if Korea joins the ranks of the democratic states that the potential for friction in the ROK-U.S. relationship will decrease and...anti-American sentiment will also fall off." The reason he gave for this view was that "critics of America who claim the U.S. supports dictatorship will lose the basis for their argument."

But expectation and anticipation of this type miss the mark. Quite the contrary, the anti-American struggle is spreading more intensely than at any time in the past, confounding U.S. officials and the American press as well. It seems likely that this fact causes Washington to cling all the more firmly to its previous position, that "The anti-American struggle in Korea results from misunderstanding or from the misguided convictions of a small number of people." The U.S. Embassy in Seoul has paid increased heed to its "public information operations," inaugurating the periodical SISA NONPYONG at an early moment, December 1986. Starting this year, the U.S. Embassy has spared no effort to "alleviate misunderstanding," as Ambassador Lilley himself has forged directly into the forefront of the public affairs campaign.

In February and March 1988, the Seoul Area University Student Representatives Council and the Seoul National University "Student Front Line Military Training Opposition Committee" sent open letters to the U.S. Embassy, and in his response Ambassador Lilley denied all U.S. responsibility for the Kwangju incident.

According to the March, 1988 issue of SISA NONPYONG, Mr Lilley said: "...When the Korean Government withdraws military forces from the operational control of the Combined Forces Command's American commander in chief, it is sufficient for the Korean Government merely to inform him of its intent. The commander in chief of the Combined Forces Command has no authority to block this transfer. Neither the U.S. Government nor any U.S. military unit took any action related to the Kwangju incident...."

The salient point that we must consider is that with this statement the United States has issued a complete denial that it approved the dispatch of military units to Kwangju. Not only does this vary from what is now



generally recognized as "historical fact," but also contradicts the explanation provided by the U.S. ambassador serving in Korea at the time of the Kwangju incident, William Gleysteen, who said in a subsequent visit to Korea that, "The United States agreed to the dispatch of a more refined unit, one with richer experience in dealing with civilians than the Special Warfare Command." In May 1988, after American facilities in Korea had been the subject of consecutive attacks, Ambassador Lilley again emphasized this point in an interview with "TONG-A ILBO."

#### Response of Korean Government Officials [subhead]

In May of 1986 when Sammintu students occupied the Seoul American Cultural Center, police authorities announced that in accord with the equation "anti-U.S.; left-leaning; pro-communist; anti-state," the government would make an example of the students by prosecuting them under provisions of the National Security Law. Such prosecution, in fact, became the policy of choice of the government thereafter. Even worse, an "affair" occurred when student leaders were arrested for violating the National Security Law for spreading an American flag out on the ground during a campus festival and stomping on it and causing other students to walk over it. This particular overreaction resulted in the widespread currency of the derisive: "We've seen actresses in American movies wear panties made from the Stars and Stripes, and there was no repercussion. But it looks like this government is one of American patriots who love the United States even more intensely than the Americans themselves do."

The shared perception of the Korean people is that the approach of the No Tae-u government has improved somewhat over that of the previous regime, which adopted the hardline approach of prosecutions under the National Security Law. And it is an irrefutable fact that some change occurred between the time in 1986 when Sammintu students were given heavy sentences under the National Security Law for saying, "We're not anti-American. All we want is an appropriate correction in ROK-U.S. relations" and the time in 1988 when members of the Young Students National Salvation Suicide Squad were arrested under provisions of laws banning violence for stipulating that "the United States is our enemy."

The No government displayed an even more generous attitude toward the farmers struggling against U.S. pressure for market opening. Even worse, a number of DJP National Assembly deputies made public campaign pledges to oppose beef imports, raising their voices to the point where the American side complained: "In a bid to avoid criticism, the Korean government is shunting responsibility onto the United States, fostering anti-American sentiment."

Arrested under provisions of the National Security Law and recently released, Mr Y, age 31 and a member of a dissident organization, tells us something about the attitude of security officials.

"...while I was in custody, tobacco imports surfaced as an issue of the day. I was surprised when even the detective condemned the United States. 'I'm a Korean, too,' he said, and together we called them 'American bastards.' Also, when I was in the detention center, I met a student who was a member of the National Salvation Suicide Squad, which had occupied the American Cultural Center. He said one of the prosecutors told him he was a patriot, a kind of praise surprising from that source. Even assuming the prosecutor may have intended a bit of humor, goodness gracious, even a high and mighty prosecutor expressed opposition to their trade pressure."

Do these examples suggest, then, any significant change in the attitude of government officials? It appears that most students have a negative answer to that question. Mr S, a senior at Seoul National University and a student body officer at the school, shares his views on the matter.

"There may have been a minor change in the way government officials respond to the Americans, but that doesn't mean they've undergone any basic revision of their views. The first reason for the change is that government officials can't communicate with the Americans in the old ways because anti-U.S. sentiment has spread widely through society, and the people simply won't stand for it. Secondly, it seems likely that some in the government intend to use the students' anti-American struggle and the people's anti-American sentiment as a lever to gain a negotiating advantage over the Americans. I think, however, that the No government is fundamentally limited in the amount of self-reliance it can display in dealing with the United States."

**No Tae-u Meets With Ex-President Yun Po-son**  
*SK2608013188 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English*  
26 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] President No Tae-u heard advice from ex-president Yun Po-son on current political situations over a lunch with him at Chongwadae yesterday.

Yun, 91, is the first former chief executive ever invited to Chongwadae since No's inauguration on Feb. 25, this year.

Yun, who was forced to step down as president in a military uprising led by Major Gen. Pak Chong-hui in 1961, has condemned the lack of democracy of previous governments.

However, he spoke well of the present government, commenting that progress has been made toward democracy under No's ruling, according to presidential spokesman Yi Su-chang.

Yi quoted Yun as saying, "As this critical moment, the people in all sectors of society, including politicians, have to combine their efforts to make the Seoul Olympics a success so as to meet the expectations of the world."

The No-Yun meeting was originally planned for Aug. 16, but it was rescheduled due to Yun's health.

**Kwangju Panel To Continue Work After Olympics**  
*SK2708065288 Seoul YONHAP in English*  
0637 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Seoul, Aug. 27 (YONHAP)—A National Assembly special panel probing the 1980 Kwangju civilian uprising decided Saturday to postpone until after the Seoul Olympics its major investigative activities including hearing testimony by major figures in the incident.

The decision was made at a meeting between the panel's key members of the ruling party and the three opposition parties.

The panel's move is in line with a tacit agreement between the rival parties on refraining from political strife that could mar the Olympics' success. The political parties have faced public pressure to halt their controversies over politically sensitive issues lest they disrupt the successful holding of the Seoul games.

Under the decision, scheduled testimony on the uprising by opposition leader Kim Tae-chung, former President Choe Kyu-ha and retired Gen. Yi Hui-song, then martial law commander, before the ad hoc committee will be postponed until after the Olympiad, an Assembly source said.

Kim was sentenced to death for sedition in connection with the bloody uprising while Yi was a top officer of the military authorities who have been accused of involvement in the suppression.

The investigative panel originally planned to summon Kim and Yi before the special committee on Monday to testify on the incident.

The panel, however, will continue discussions before and during the games on procedures for the investigative activities while reviewing reports and records on the uprising.

The Kwangju uprising has emerged, along with alleged financial scandals during the government of former President Chon Tu-hwan, as a major source of political disputes between the ruling party and the three opposition parties. The three opposition parties won a combined majority of Assembly seats in the April 26 parliamentary elections.

**Governor Mun Ordered Furniture Relocated**  
*SK3108012188 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English*  
31 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Chollanam-do governor Mun Chang-su ordered the relocation of luxury equipment installed for presidential use from his residence to a nearby house before members of the Assembly irregularities probing committee arrived there, it was learned yesterday.

Home Minister Yi Chun-ku told the committee that Mun had made the directive while inspecting ornate presidential accommodation facilities on the premises of his residence in Kwangju while inspecting them with the home bureau director and other officials.

He later told provincial administration officials to move some of the furniture back to the original position in his final check of the facilities in preparation for the parliamentary panel members' on-the-spot inspection.

There are three accommodation facilities for the president, built while ex-president Chon Tu-hwan was in office and the one in Kwangju is the most luxurious among the three "provincial Chongwadae." The Kwangju house, which was used on less than ten occasions, was examined by the panel members with regard to excessive spending on unnecessary establishments.

The minister suggested he would recommend that President No Tae-u dismiss Mun, who had served as a policy council to the ruling party before his appointment to the governorship early this year.

When opposition lawmakers urged Minister Yi to resign, he said, "I am determined to take due responsibility. However, I don't think the governor intended to interrupt the examination of the facilities by Assemblymen." Yi is also a ruling party parliamentarian.

**State Businesses To Repay Foreign Debt Early**  
*SK2608013388 Seoul YONHAP in English*  
0042 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Seoul, Aug. 26 (YONHAP)—Korea's eight state-run enterprises will repay a total of 1.877 billion U.S. dollars in foreign debt ahead of schedule to curb possible inflation, the Economic Planning Board (EPB) said Friday.

The corporations include the Korea Electric Power Corp. (to repay 858 million dollars), Korea Tele-Communication Authority (288 million dollars), the Korea Development Bank (271 million dollars) and the industrial sites and Water Resources Development Corp. (123 million dollars), according to the EPB.

The government will consider floating additional bonds for the early repayment of foreign debt by such state-run enterprises as the Korea Land Development Corp. and the Korea Highway Corp., which have issued bonds to cover a financial shortfall the EPB said.

The early repayment of foreign debt is expected to siphon off 530.70 billion won (737.08 million dollars) in liquidity, according to the EPB.

Meanwhile, foreign debts of the state-run corporations totaled 9.05 billion dollars as of June this year, accounting for 26.8 percent of the country's total foreign debt of 33.71 billion dollars. As of the end of 1986, the state-run enterprises' foreign debt amounted to 13.996 billion dollars, accounting for 31.4 percent of the nation's total foreign debt of 44.50 billion dollars, the EPB said.

**Steel Firms Seek To Enter Chinese Market**  
*SK3108004488 Seoul YONHAP in English*  
0037 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Seoul, Aug. 31 (YONHAP)—South Korea's steel manufacturers have recently pushed ahead with efforts to enter the Chinese market by means of plant exports, joint ventures, technology transfers and other forms of economic cooperation, business sources said Wednesday.

Hyundai Pipe Co. is seeking to establish a joint venture to produce steel pipes in China and transfer technology, while Korea Steel Pipe Co. is seeking economic cooperation with China by sharing a stake in Chinese companies, transferring technology and participating in management, the sources said.

Dongyang Tinplate Ind. Co. is negotiating the export of steel manufacturing lines.

Domestic steel companies have exported bar steel, steel sheets, section steel, steel pipes, special steel and wire to China via Hong Kong, Japan, the United States, Singapore and Macao, while importing from China iron ore, pig iron, fluorspar and scrap iron, the sources said.

Meanwhile, the steel makers will also consider the export to China of steel for railroad facilities, as well as steel structures and high-quality special steel, the sources said.

**Taiwan Agrees To Expand Fruit Trade**  
*OW2708143388 Taipei CNA in English*  
1028 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] Seoul, Aug. 27 (CNA)—South Korean and Republic of China officials agreed on Saturday to continue a barter trade deal on exchanging pears and bananas and expand fruit trade between their two countries.

Concluding a five-day negotiation over fruit trade, chief delegates of both sides signed an agreement under which Korea will export 2,500 tons of pears and import the same value of Taiwan bananas next year.

Both sides also agreed to exchange 5,000 tons of Korean apples for the same value to Taiwan bananas. To show its sincerity, Korea has sent [indistinct] for half the amount of bananas to Taiwan, said an economics official at the Chinese embassy.

Korea also agreed to import tropical fruit from Taiwan, but its National Assembly has to amend its law and regulations on fruit quarantine before this can be realized, the official said.

He said prospects seemed good for exporting other fruit from Taiwan to Korea since fumigation and other preservation methods have improved.

The official, who witnessed the proceeding of the meeting, said both sides discussed problems in a rational and friendly atmosphere.

He quoted a leading member of the Korean delegation as saying it's a hard job to fight for the interests of our farmers.



**Burma**

**Aung Gyi Gives Speech at 25 August Rally**  
*BK3108040088 London BBC in Burmese to Burma*  
1400 GMT 31 Aug 88

[“Excerpts” of speech by former Brigadier General U Aung Gyi at rally held in Sanchaung, Rangoon, on 25 August—recorded]

[Text] [Shouting of slogans “Our cause shall succeed” and “To obtain democracy is our cause” by Aung Gyi and audience] I would like to beg pardon from monks and elders for speaking from an elevated platform when I address you today, the representatives of the people of the whole of Burma. The first thing I would like to do is appeal to the Defense Forces. My second point is an appeal to the people here and to the people of the whole of Burma. The third point is an appeal to the current government headed by Dr Maung Maung.

On the Defense Forces: One of the four pledges that the Defense Forces personnel take says that the Defense Forces must be for the people. Is that true? [“true” chanted three times by audience] Every member of the Defense Forces is required to take the four pledges holding the flag. The pledge says the Defense Forces must be for the people. So, we the people must respect the Defense Forces. There is no country in the world without defense forces. The Defense Forces in Burma have a long tradition. The members of the Defense Forces are the children of the people who defend our lives and property. So do not commit wrongs against members of our Defense Forces even in mind. [slogan shouting and applause from audience] You must believe absolutely that the Defense Forces will serve the people and side with the people. [“we believe” chanted three times by audience] Believe in it! Believe in it! Believe in it!

My next point is addressed to the people. Democracy is our cause! Democracy is our cause! Democracy is our cause! [slogan repeated by audience] It is essential for people who want democracy today first to have discipline. Democracy will not flourish in a country where there is anarchy. We may be (?strong) today temporarily. We must abide by discipline, refinement, and [words indistinct] in waging the struggle for democracy within the framework of law. If we use force Burma will become an anarchic state. [applause] If the people use force the Defense Forces will be forced to quash the situation. Is it true? [“true” chanted three times by audience] You must explain all this to the Defense Forces so that every member of the Defense Forces knows that the Defense Forces are the people’s armed forces and they are respected by the people. [“true” chanted three times by audience] Will you tell them? [“yes” chanted three times by audience]

Your struggle for democracy will be 90 percent successful if you observe discipline and if you respect the Defense Forces. [applause] It will be 90 percent successful! It will be 90 percent successful. Is it clear? [“it is clear” chanted three times by audience]

I have just been released from jail today, so I still do not know about any political or other developments. However, what I know and what I would like to say is that democracy can be achieved only through a disciplined and systematic struggle. Do you believe it? Do you believe it? Do you believe it? [“yes, we believe it” chanted three times by audience]

Democracy is within your reach. You can reach it. You can reach it. You can reach it. However, if you breach discipline such as by looting, attacking, and killing, the Defense Forces will intervene. When that happens do not blame the Defense Forces. So, all the people engaged in the struggle for democracy, please observe discipline and be systematic. There has been a change in that they now show regard for public opinion. Dr Maung Maung is now serving as the president; U Tin Aung Hein is in charge of such things as elections. Personally, I have faith in and respect these two persons and believe them to be fair. [applause]

I absolutely believe that these two persons will work to obtain democracy for Burma without fail in a just manner. [applause] Do you believe it? [“yes, we believe it” chanted three times by audience] One thing I would like to appeal to the people regards breaches of discipline and wanton acts such as commandeering buses. Now almost the whole country is under anarchy. Is it true? Is it true? [“it is true” chanted three times by audience] An anarchic state is not democracy. The peaceful pursuits which you have engaged in previously will bring true democracy. It is not democracy when there is use of force and weapons and disorder. It is anarchy [preceding word in English].

Now that I have appealed to the armed forces and the people, I would like to appeal to the current government. No one in the whole of Burma accepts it. Is it true? Is it true? Is it true? [“it is true” chanted three times by audience] In the whole of Burma—no village, no town, no organization, starting with police, no one—has faith in it. Is it true? Is it true? Is it true? [“it is true” chanted three times by audience]

Please do not try to relive the events of 1974 [the year of the referendum on new constitution]. Try to be aware of the current situation. If we continue at this rate Burma will fall under anarchy and become ungovernable. No matter how many bullets the 100,000-men Defense Forces fire it will not be able to control the country in anarchy. So, I would like to appeal to the government not to dream about the old promise with regard to votes cast in 1974. That era has ended. [applause]

If the current situation is allowed to continue for months there will be more anarchy. I would like to appeal to Dr Maung Maung and U Tin Aung Hein, whom we have respect and have faith in, to ascertain public opinion as soon as possible. People like Dr Maung Maung and U Tin Aung Hein were old enough to experience the Year 1300 Affair [the 1938 student strike] and they know what public opinion is about. We have 100 percent faith in them.

I appeal to the people and demand the establishment of an interim government without delay in accordance with public opinion. [applause]

**Former Speaker Calls for Democracy**  
BK3008154188 London BBC in Burmese to Burma  
1400 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Speech by Bo Hmu Aung, former speaker of the House and one of the "Thirty Comrades", "at a rally held in Sanchaung, Rangoon on 25 August"—recorded]

[Text] Heroes of democracy—ones who have distinctively and openly shown what the people genuinely desire! Let me wholeheartedly praise and express my support to the students, the monks, and the people who have struggled for democracy without regard for their lives. The victory of the students, the monks, and the people is indeed a great victory for the country and all the people. It is a victory (?written in blood in the annals of history). But this great victory has not yet ended; the struggle must continue. We shall have to continue with unity and discipline until final victory, we shall have to strive until the final prize—democracy—is won and is handed over to the people. The victory for democracy will come without fail. The people who will help attain democracy are being closely observed by the whole country and by the whole world. That is why I wish to express my highest regards and praises for the heroes of democracy—students, monks, people, and all organizations.

I wish to say a little about the defense forces. The defense forces were founded by us, by risking our lives. There are four [figure as heard] pledges that defense force personnel make: I shall lay down my life for my nation, my people, and my defense forces. Hence, today, the defense forces, which were born from the people, should form an integral part of the people. The defense forces should be inseparable from the people—like milk and water, once diluted cannot be separated. Therefore, let me, your elder, profoundly urge you—defense forces personnel and soldiers—to always uphold your loyalty to the people.

The people's democratic revolution shall succeed! The people's democratic revolution shall succeed! The people's democratic revolution shall succeed! [slogan echoed by the crowds; applause]

**Aung San Suu Kyi Addresses 26 August Rally**  
BK3108091288 London BBC in Burmese to Burma  
1410 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Correspondent's report with "excerpts" of speech by Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of late General Aung San, delivered at a rally at Shwedagon Pagoda's West Gate in Rangoon on 26 August—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Following a 1-minute tribute to the fallen students after the introductory part of her speech, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi delivered her speech as follows:

"I believe all the people present here have come with their aspiration for democracy. This goal of democracy can be reached only if all the people march toward their goal in unity and with discipline. Let me explain a bit about my personal background at this point as the people do not know me. Because they do not know they want to find out about me. It is natural and they should know. Some say that I have lived abroad, I am married to a foreigner, and what do I know about politics in Burma. Please let me have frank relations with the people from now on. It is true that I have lived abroad. It is also true that I am married to a foreigner. However, this insignificant matter in no way reduces my love for the country. [applause]

"Another point is that it is said that I do not understand anything about Burma's politics. On the contrary, the problem is that I know it all too well. [applause]

"Our family knows best to what extent my father was a victim of the political intrigues in Burma. [applause]"

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said she did not want to be involved in complicated politics, but she had been forced into politics by recent events. She went on to say:

"This current state of affairs is of concern to the whole nation. We cannot afford to shirk responsibility and (?ignore it). This can be called the second struggle for independence. [applause] This struggle has emerged out of the strong desire of the people for democratic freedom. [applause]"

She then proceeded to explain the policy of her father, U Aung San which said only democracy can bring about independence and peace. She continued:

"I have entered the struggle for democratic freedom in accordance with the tradition of my father. How then shall we proceed to march toward this goal of democracy? It is clear. We will get it if there is unity. We will achieve nothing if we are not united. [applause] If the people are not united no ideology will benefit the country. We must firmly take note of this fact. Also, if there is no discipline no ideology can succeed. Hence, it is necessary for us—the people of the country—to have unity and discipline always. [applause]

"There is only one thing I would like to say in speaking about unity. That is, it may contain words that you may approve as well as words that you do not approve. As for myself, I believe I am telling the truth to the people. So, I shall speak truthfully according to what is in my mind. Please support me if you like. I shall speak the truth even if you do not like it. I cannot help it if you do not like it.

"Currently, there is division between the people and the Defense Forces and this division can endanger the country in many ways. The Burma Defense Forces was nurtured and fostered by my father. [applause] In short, I have a great attachment to the Defense Forces as it was nurtured and fostered by my father. We grew up in the hands of soldiers when we were young. I am aware of the great love the people have for my father. I am very grateful for their love. I do not want antagonism between the Defense Forces founded and nurtured by my father and the people who hold great love toward my father. From here, I would like to appeal to the members of the Defense Forces. Please strive to become the Defense Forces which the people can rely on. [applause] Please strive to become the Defense Forces which can preserve the prestige and honor of the country. [applause]

"To the people, I would like to appeal to you to try to forgive the past events and to try to maintain the love for the Defense Forces. [applause] Only when we proceed to march in unity will we be able to achieve the goal of founding a lasting union.

"I would like to say a few things about the students who are leading the [words indistinct] The students and youths are very capable. They have shown their physical capability and I believe they will continue to show their mental capability. [applause] I would like to appeal to these students to continue to march forward in unity. There are various organizations among the students. I would like these organizations to come together to become united. The students have been talking of convening a conference. I hope the students will all become united when this conference is convened. [applause]"

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi then proceeded to say that she has not joined any political organization, that she is not connected with any leader of an organization, and that she does not like exploitation of the cause for democracy. On the matter of exploitation she said:

"If any of the veteran politicians, who are helping in the attempt to obtain democracy, try to exploit politically, I myself will go to those persons and denounce them."

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi then proceeded to appeal for unity, discipline, and prevention of division between the adults and youths in her speech delivered on 26 August 1988.

**Former Officials Form Democracy, Peace Group**  
*BK3108035788 Rangoon THE GUARDIAN in English*  
30 Aug 88 pp 1, 8

["From our correspondent"]

[Text] Rangoon, August 28 [dateline as published]—A meeting was held at 10 am today at No 10 Wingaba Lane, Bahan Township, "to solve the problems arising in the country as much as possible and to secure legitimate demands of people demonstrating for democracy".

The meeting formed "Democracy and Peace Group (Provisional)" with retired Prime Minister U Nu as patron, President Mahn Win Maung as chairman, retired Speaker of Parliament Bo Hmu Aung as vice-chairman, retired general Thura U Tin U as general secretary, retired parliamentary secretary U Than Sein as joint general secretary, U Aung (Myingyan) as treasurer, and the following as executives:

Thakin Chit Maung (Widura), Thakin Khin Aung (Tharawaddy), Thakin Thein Pe (Wakema), U Aung Shwe (retired brigadier general), U Saw Myint (retired colonel), Bo Khin Maung (retired minister), No Tun Sein (Mergui), Bo Hmu Tun Tin (former chairman of electricity supply board), U Ba Swe (retired deputy secretary), U Nyunt Aung (retired MP), Thakin Chit (vice-President, Bar council), U Ba Tun (chairman, Rangoon Bar Association), U Ye Gaung Nyunt (ex-MP), U Thu Way and Dr. Vum Ko Hau (retired ambassador).

**Paper Comments on Group**  
*BK3108041788 Rangoon WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY in English* 30 Aug 88 p 1

["By Our Staff Reporter"]

[Text] Old-time politicians led by U Nu as 'patron' with Mahn Win Maung as 'chairman' and 19 others appear to be seeking to join the band wagon by the formation of a group named 'De-mo-cray-si hnint Nyeinh-chan-yay A-phwe (Ya-yi)' [Democracy and Peace Group (Provisional)] with the declared aim of (1) resolving the current problems and (2) helping the demonstrators attain their just demand for democracy, it is learnt.

It is also learnt that the 21-member group was formed at No 10, Wingaba Road, Bahan Township at 10 am yesterday.

**Dissident Leaders Expected To Issue Statement**  
*BK3108050088 Hong Kong AFP in English* 0449 GMT  
31 Aug 88

[Text] Rangoon, Aug 31 (AFP)—Three key dissident figures were to issue a statement here Wednesday to show unity in backing a nationwide push to end 26 years of authoritarian rule and a return to democracy, informed sources said.



The sources said the statement would be issued by former Prime Minister U Nu, Former Defense Minister Tin Oo and Aung Sang Suu Kyi, the daughter of Burmese founding father Aung San.

Dissident figures not involved include Aung Gyi, a former number two to General Ne Win who resigned in July after 26 years in power, and the head of a newly-formed students' union, Min Ko Naing, in his late 20's and an economics graduate from Rangoon University.

(Rangoon-based diplomats reached from Bangkok have said dissension among opposition leaders could allow the government to hold out against protests which have led to civil administrations falling in most towns outside Rangoon.

(The ruling Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) is to meet September 12 to consider whether to hold a referendum on ending single-party rule in Burma.

(But protestors have proclaimed in posters in the capital that this is a stalling tactic as people have already shown they want multi-party democracy.)

There were rumors here that the BSPP Central Committee had met Tuesday, but these could not be confirmed.

A "Strike Committee To Fight For Democracy" formed Tuesday by representatives of more than 120 government departments called for a mass rally and strike by all state employees on Thursday and Friday.

They demanded that the 1974 constitution sanctioning single-party rule in Burma be scrapped, that all people's representatives from parliament down to village level resign, that an interim government be formed and general elections held.

A student-led general strike since August 22 has led to the crumbling of civil administration in many towns outside Rangoon and predictions from diplomats that the single-party regime instituted by General Ne Win in 1962 can not last much longer, unless the army steps in to restore order.

The strike has brought Burma's railway system to a standstill nationwide and raised fears of food shortages, state radio said Tuesday, adding that rice prices were high.

A statement was issued Tuesday by 85 former military commanders who met to support a letter by 15 of them calling for an interim government.

The 15 included former Brigadier General Aung Shwe who joined a League for Democracy and Peace formed by U Nu Monday.

"At this moment the whole nation is demanding the removal of the one-party system in favour of a multi-party system," the statement said.

"Since these were legitimate demands we hope the army will regard them as such. The military should stand together with the people," it added.

Gen Ne Win resigned July 23 after 26 years of rigid socialist rule and was replaced by Sein Lwin, who stepped down after only 17 days as BSPP chairman and president following a crackdown on protests August 8-12 which left more than 1,000 people dead according to diplomats.

**Decree Warns Against Occupying Public Buildings**  
BK3108135088 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese  
1330 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Council of Ministers Notification No 48 dated 31 August—the 4th day of the waning moon of Wagaung, 1350 Burmese Era]

[Text] The state, in accordance with the provisions of the state Constitution, has permitted the freedom to gather and march in procession. However, it is learned that at the present, some people bent on violence have occupied public buildings and township people's council offices in some townships and are carrying out illegal activities. Since these are unilateral activities, they should be halted beginning from the time of issuance of this order, and people's council offices should be vacated immediately.

Those bent on violence will have to bear the responsibility for any consequences resulting from the refusal of this order.

By the authority vested in me,

Signed: Maung Ko, secretary, Council of Ministers.

**Diplomats Say Army Likely To Intervene**  
BK3108013988 Bangkok THE NATION in English  
31 Aug 88 p 4

[Text] As Burma's people power uprising searches for direction, chances increase that the 170,000-man army will try to reassert itself as the country's most powerful political force, Rangoon-based diplomats said yesterday.

Rumours have been rife in the Burmese capital that the army might stage a coup or intervene politically in some other way.

"We have from pretty good sources that the military is currently considering its options and all of these involve military intervention in one form or another," a Western diplomat said.

Acting and retired officers loyal to former general Ne Win have run Burma since the coup that brought him to power in 1962.

Diplomats said that if the army stepped in it would probably cite the breakdown in law and order accompanying the stand-off between the retreating Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) and the mass opposition.

They said one possibility was an army takeover, in consultation with the BSPP leadership, to allow the party to go ahead with its proposed timetable for political reform, including an emergency congress on September 12 and a referendum on opening up the country to multi-party rule.

Another was a total army takeover and snuffing the BSPP.

Burma has been effectively leaderless for a month since first Ne Win and then his immediate successor, Sein Lwin, stepped down in face of a mounting popular revolt against 26 years of worsening poverty and political repression.

**Opposition Organizes as Coup Rumors Spread**  
*BK3108101688 Hong Kong AFP in English 0953 GMT  
31 Aug 88*

[Text] Rangoon, Aug 31 (AFP)—Anti-government protestors have set up a committee to provide essential services in Rangoon because of a breakdown of official administration in the Burmese capital, organizers said Wednesday.

The news came as rumors of a possible military coup spread in Rangoon due to the ruling Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP)'s increasing failure to control day-to-day affairs after a month of swelling nationwide protests.

Protest leaders announced Wednesday that organizers of a general strike which has affected virtually every sector of the Burmese economy in the past 10 days are planning massive nationwide demonstrations on Thursday.

Protests continued here Wednesday, with students, teachers, monks and striking state employees taking to the streets demanding an end to one-party rule, an interim government and a return to democracy, witnesses said.

In another development, factory and mill workers have begun forming unions banned since 1964 under a national solidarity law which required all social and religious organizations to register with the government, reliable sources said.

Strikers have demanded a repeal of the law which outlaws all political parties except the BSPP, set up by General Ne Win after he toppled an elected government in a 1962 coup.

Burma's first student union since Gen. Ne Win banned such groups in 1962, was formed at a rally at Rangoon University Sunday.

A "Rangoon civil administration committee" has been formed to substitute for official municipal authorities, according to a strike committee made up of students, Buddhist monks, state employees and members of the general public.

Organizers said the administration committee would be responsible for normalizing transportation in the capital, fighting rising prices, and providing sanitation and other essential services.

(Burmese state radio monitored in Bangkok appealed Wednesday for work to resume at two key oil refineries in order to prevent possible food shortages.)

The collapse of the BSPP administration has led to predictions from diplomats that the regime cannot last much longer unless the army steps in to restore order.

A letter to the State Council by retired top Army brass emphasizing that the Army should stand with the people was carried by the official press Wednesday.

The letter, signed by 15 ex-Army commanders and endorsed by 85 more, called the current situation "a national issue (that) concerns the entire people."

It called for an interim government and was signed by such figures as former Brigadier General Aung Shwe who joined a League for Democracy and Peace formed by Burma's first Prime Minister U nu on Monday.

According to informed sources, U nu and two other leading dissidents were to issue a statement Wednesday to show unity in backing the nationwide push for an end to the regime.

The sources said the statement had been signed by U Nu, 81, former Defense Minister Tin Oo, 64, and Aung Sang Suu Kyi, 42, daughter of modern Burma's founding father Aung San.

Key dissidents who have not signed are Aung Gyi, a former number two to Gen. Ne Win, and the head of the newly formed students union, Min Ko Naing, in his late 20's and an economics graduate from Rangoon University, the sources said.

Gen. Ne Win resigned July 23 after 26 years of rigid socialist rule.

**Appeal for Resumption of Refinery Operations**  
*BK3108065988 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese*  
0630 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] As a result of ongoing demonstrations, work has stopped at the oil refinery in Rangoon Division's Syriam and the Thanbayagan refinery in (Minhla). Consequently as petrol and diesel oil cannot be refined and sold, transportation of commodities by car and rail and commuter transport services will no longer be possible. Hence, the working people will have to bear the high cost of goods.

Efforts are therefore being made with the assistance of experts to resume work at the Syriam refinery.

In order to prevent the workers, who have not reported for work because of threats and false rumors, from facing problems because they are not getting salaries, wages were handed out on 30 and 31 August.

It is learned that if the refinery were to resume work and the petrol and diesel oil stations were to resume sales, it will then be possible to make available the fuel needed for the transportation of commuters and foodstuffs.

**Food Prices Remain 'High' in Rangoon Area**  
*BK3008143 88 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese*  
1330 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Prices of foodstuffs in the Rangoon City development areas have remained high in recent days. Rice is being sold at 10, 11, and 12 kyat per pyi, and edible oil at 60, 65, and 75 kyat per viss. Hence, it is learned that the working people have expressed their hope that the traders and brokers would work toward relieving the hardships of the people instead of considering personal interests only.

**Rally Held at Former Student Union Site**  
*BK3108031188 Rangoon THE GUARDIAN in English*  
29 Aug 88 p 1

["From our correspondents"]

[Text] Rangoon, Aug 28—Teeming numbers of students gathered at the site of the former Student Union building on Rangoon University campus at 10 am today.

It was called as the first conference of their central committee for forming an all-Burma federation of students unions.

It was presided over by Min Ko Naing who was acting as interim chairman of the students union of university and institutes in Rangoon.

It was addressed by Min Ko Naing and also by U Hla Shwe from the former executive committee of all-Burma federation of students unions and patron U Aung Than Tint.

Ko Ko Gyi as vice-chairman explained the concept and attitude of the union. Moe Thi Zun as secretary explained the future programme and Ko Thurein read out messages to the conference.

Talks were given by U Ko Yu, U Aung Lwin and Maung Thaw Ka from the literary and artistes' group and five students.

The conference came to a close with chanting of slogans.

Afterwards, the students went on peaceful demonstration in procession into the city and dispersed at the Rangoon General Hospital.

**Student Movement Permanent Committee Formed**  
*BK3108040588 Rangoon THE GUARDIAN in English*  
30 Aug 88 p 1

["From our correspondent"]

[Text] Rangoon, August 29—A meeting held at Ward 13-14 of Rangoon General Hospital at 3 pm today transformed the "all-Burma students movement supervision provisional committee" into a permanent committee.

The committee involves 34 groups representing students, factories and mills workers, legal experts and artistes.

It will be headed by a ten-member leading body and it has formed four sub-committees for finance, organization, information, and security control.

**Rally at Rangoon General Calls for 'Democracy'**  
*BK3108043388 Rangoon WORKING PEOPLE'S*  
*DAILY in English 30 Aug 88 pp 1, 8*

["By Our Staff Reporter"]

[Text] A mass rally to demand democracy was held in the open ground in front of the Cardiac Ward of the Rangoon General Hospital at 8 pm yesterday [29 August].

Writers, artistes, artists and cartoonists, and vocalists gave speeches at the rally attended by large numbers of students and working people.

After the rally, the writers, artistes, artists and cartoonists and vocalists marched along the streets in downtown Rangoon.

A similar procession of peaceful demonstration started from the Rangoon General Hospital in the afternoon and proceeded along the streets of downtown Rangoon. Among those taking part in the demonstration were teachers from universities and institutes, followed by students of the Rangoon University, the Institute of Economics, Rangoon Institute of Technology, the Yezin



Agricultural Institute, the Rangoon University (Botaung, Hlaing and Kammendine Campuses), Workers College and those of high schools as well as workers. Tens of thousands of demonstrators shouted slogans demanding democracy.

In another development, university students declared that they had formed the 'executive committee' (temporary) of the 'Rangoon university students union' with Ko Min Ko Naing as 'chairman', Ko Moe Thi Zun as 'general secretary' and 12 others.

**Monks Cause Closure of Banks in Mandalay**  
*BK3008140888 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese*  
1330 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Banks were opened to hand out pensions and salaries in Mandalay on 29 August 1988, but today the responsible officials of those banks in Mandalay were called away by some monks. As a result the banks had to be closed, it is learned.

As it is the end of the month now, it is learned that the banks would like to give out salaries for August according to schedule, in the interests of the workers and their families.

**664 More Inmates Released From Insein Prison**  
*BK3008141488 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese*  
1330 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] More inmates and people remanded in custody are being released from Insein prison. Accordingly, a total of 664 people—102 convicts and 562 persons remanded in custody—were released today.

**Myawaddy Officials Resign 'En Masse' 30 August**  
*BK3108014188 Bangkok THE NATION in English*  
31 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Mae Sot, Tak—Fourteen members of the People's Council in Burmese town of Myawaddy opposite this border district resigned en masse yesterday as anti-government demonstrations continued, according to reports reaching here.

The reports said that more civil servants joined in the strike that has already led to a food shortage.

Thai merchants here reported that some Burmese crossed the border into Thailand yesterday to buy rice. "This is something unprecedented," one of them said.

Meanwhile, police yesterday charged four Burmese students who fled here on Sunday with illegal entry.

The four Burmese said they want to seek political asylum in the United States.

Police decided to file the charge against the Burmese pending further instructions from the Interior Ministry

**Better Representation by Officials Urged**  
*BK3108051588 Rangoon WORKING PEOPLE'S*  
*DAILY in English 30 Aug 88 p 4*

[Editorial: "For truly representing the people"]

[Text] Under any political system, people's representatives should be those who are experienced, able and of good character. They should be prepared to respectfully fulfil the people's wishes. To be able to do so, they must win the trust of the people.

Regarding trust, it is very difficult to assess who is trustworthy to what extent. A people's representative can be trusted for two, three or four years. Will he still be trustworthy after that? Similarly, he can be trusted with about K [kyat] 10,000 for some time. When the entrusted amount increases it is very likely that the period of trustworthiness will be reduced depending on the controls placed on him. In fact, a people's representative ceases to fully represent the people with misuse of the people's trust.

As a matter of fact, such malpractices have repeatedly taken place throughout human history. One political system after another came into being. But a large number of public officials have not been able to withstand the temptation. Consequently, their rights and powers meant for the large majority of people have turned out to be for a small minority including themselves.

With the objective assessment of human nature that a people's representative or anybody else is liable to make errors, checks and balances will be necessary. Organizations formed with the people's representatives are to strive to truly and effectively reflect the people's wishes and work accordingly. For the people, on their part, there should be easy access to supervising these representatives and organizations so that they can act on behalf of the people. There should be appropriate arrangements to enable the people to present frank suggestions. There should also be checks if the suggestions made by the people are dealt with. Unless it is done, appropriate action should be taken against the representative or organization concerned.

Public is made up of people of different qualities. No doubt, there will be many who can assist the people's representatives in many ways through advice or practical help. We would like to urge them to play a meaningful role for their specific localities at least. People's representatives should not forget the fact that they have been elected to serve the people and they are not above the people. With such correct attitudes people's representatives will be able to truly represent the people.

**Editorial Calls for Unity of People**

BK3108033388 Rangoon *THE GUARDIAN* in English  
29 Aug 88 p 4

[Editorial: "For unity of the people"]

[Text] There is a Burmese saying that we must remain united in times of vital importance. The truth of this has been proven time and again in the history of the nation.

The people of the country have throughout history lived in harmony and unity sharing joys and sorrows in weal or woe. The people of the country have endeavoured with perseverance and undaunted courage for the attainment of national independence, displaying a spirit of mutual help and sacrifice and patriotism throughout the struggles for national liberation.

As Burma is a country where many indigenous racial groups reside, it is only when solidarity of all indigenous racial groups has been established that the well-being of every racial group can be achieved.

In striving toward fraternity and unity of all races in the country we are guided by what our national leader Bogyoke [General] Aung San said in a speech on 20 January 1946. He said:

"A nation is a collective term applied to a people, irrespective of their ethnic origin, living in close contact with one another and having common interests and sharing joys and sorrows together for such historic periods as to have acquired a sense of oneness. Though race, religion and language are important factors it is only their traditional desire and will to live in unity through weal and woe that binds a people together and makes them a nation and their spirit a patriotism."

Times have borne testimony to the fact that we have that traditional desire and will to live in unity through weal and woe. It is on the strength of this unity that we have weathered many a storm in the annals of the country.

In such times as the present it is vitally necessary that all the people of the country maintain and further strengthen this unity and base all our actions on this unity so as to keep on marching forward as a nation.

**Leaders Greet Malaysian National Day**

BK3108030688 Rangoon *Domestic Service* in English  
0200 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] A message of felicitations from the president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, Dr Maung Maung, has been sent to His Majesty Sultan Iskandar, Yang Dipertuan Agong [paramount ruler] of Malaysia, on the occasion of the anniversary of the national day of Malaysia.

The message reads: On the occasion of the national day of Malaysia, the Council of State and the people of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma join me in extending to your majesty and, through you, to the people of Malaysia, our warm congratulations and sincere good wishes.

May I also take this opportunity to convey my best wishes for your majesty's personal health and well-being, and for the continued progress and prosperity of the people of Malaysia.

The prime minister, Thura U Tun Tin, has also sent a message of felicitations to the prime minister of Malaysia, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamed, on the occasion of the anniversary of the national day of Malaysia, and it reads:

On behalf of the Council of Ministers and on my own, I wish to extend to your excellency and the Government of Malaysia our warm felicitations and sincere greetings on the happy occasion of the national day of Malaysia. Please accept, excellency, my best wishes for your personal good health and success and the further progress and prosperity of the people of Malaysia.

The deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, U Ye Gaung, has also sent a message of felicitations to the minister of foreign affairs of Malaysia, Datuk Abu Hassan Haji Omar, and it reads:

On the happy occasion of the national day of Malaysia, I wish to extend to your excellency my warm felicitations and cordial greetings. May I add to these my own best wishes for your own personal good health and success.

**Brunei, Malaysia & Singapore**

**Brunei**

**Aquino Addresses Businessmen, Concludes Visit**

HK3008130588 Quezon City *Radio ng Bayan*  
in Tagalog 1106 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Speech by President Corazon Aquino before Brunei's National Chamber of Commerce and Industry; in English—recorded]

[Text] The Honorable Bin Aziz, minister of communications; Datu Haji Habib; (Awang Haji Omar); officers and members of the National Chamber of Commerce and Industry; members of the Philippine delegation; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

May I begin by expressing our deep appreciation to the National Commerce and Industry of Negara Brunei Darussalam, and to all of you here for making this meeting possible.

About 8 months ago, his majesty the sultan, was in Manila for the ASEAN summit. The ASEAN heads of state approved economic initiatives that are very relevant to your business activities. For example, the member countries agreed to raise inter-ASEAN investments to at least 10 percent of total foreign investments by the turn of the century. They also hope to increase manufacturing value added by 8 percent annually. In trade, the member countries agreed to increase substantially the number and value of traded items within the ASEAN preferential trading arrangement. To implement these initiatives, we are counting upon the entrepreneurial drive and spirit of the ASEAN private sector. Although these are formally goals of multilateral cooperation among the six ASEAN states, they translate in practical terms to bilateral trade. Expanding inter-ASEAN trade means expanding trade between [word indistinct] of members states. Likewise, raising the level of inter-ASEAN investment means increasing capital flows between any two ASEAN countries. In short, what Brunei Darussalam and the Philippines can do together in terms of trade and investments would all be in the spirit of the region-wide objective of the summit last year, and the spirit of ASEAN since its inception.

Over the past 2 and 1/2 years, dramatic improvement in the political and economic situations in the Philippines have enhanced our capability to trade routes and to provide a hospitable climate for foreign investments, particularly from our immediate neighbors. The GNP growth of 1.5 percent in 1986 almost quadrupled to 5.7 percent in 1987, and increased further to 7.6 percent in the first quarter of 1988. The industrial sector contributed significantly to this performance with its growth rates of 7.9 percent in 1987 and 9.67 percent in the first quarter of this year. After 2 consecutive years of decline, investments last year reached U.S.\$420-million, the highest level registered by our Board of Investment in 20 years. At U.S.\$575-million, investments in the first semester alone have already surpassed the level for the whole of 1987. We have also achieved substantial progress in international trade. From a 14.1 percent decline in 1985, our exports have grown by 4.6 percent in 1986, by 17.6 percent in 1987, and in the first 6 months of 1988, by 25.4 percent. We have also been able to stabilize our foreign exchange rate and hold bank inflation to 3.8 percent last year. As I said in my address for the opening session of our Congress last month, there is no denying that the economy has taken off, it is on the move, not fitfully anymore, but in firm strides on the path of sustainable growth. And the key to this is the free reign we have given to the private sector, and its involvement in the preparation of our policies for growth, both domestically and internationally. To widen the foundation of economic growth, we identified 13 regional agro-industrial sectors to draw the forces of development to the countryside, and enlist the energy and creativity of the small and medium entrepreneurs who have sustained our economy thus far.

This strategy calls for the pouring of substantial infrastructure into the regions outside Manila, to make them

hospitable to investments. We will see to it that these areas will have what they need in power, water supply, telecommunications, transportation network, security, and other government services. One of the centers we have chosen is Zamboanga, which is quite near Brunei Darussalam. This will bring the two private sectors closer to each other and hopefully enhance trade between our countries. It is heartening to note that trade between our two countries, which steadily declined from 1981 to 1986, improved almost four times in 1987. However, because our imports from your country consist almost entirely of petroleum products, while exports have not yet made significant inroad into your market, the balance of trade between our two countries has been heavily in your favor over the past decade. We hope that our private sector which has been quite enthusiastic about doing business in Brunei Darussalam can enter into more contracts with many of you so they can help reduce our trade deficit.

I know that one of the reasons for the low volume of trade between Brunei Darussalam and the Philippines is the lack of shipping services between our two countries. To address this problem, we are trying to secure commitment from shipping lines to introduce regular direct shipping services between our two countries. Whether these lines will be established, or long survive, will depend, of course, on the volume of trade. The most encouraging framework for such trade was made in the revised basic agreement on ASEAN industrial joint ventures. Under the agreement, products of any industrial project with equity participation from at least two member states, like Brunei Darussalam and the Philippines, will be entitled to a 90 percent tariff cut, when exported from the host country to other participating countries. The accompanying Philippine delegation will answer your other questions about trade and investment opportunities between our countries. May I take this occasion to invite you to an investors' conference scheduled for the first week of November in Manila. I hope to see many of you there. Community of ways, community of commercial interest, community of security concerns in the ASEAN region and the particular proximity of our two countries, these factors argue most strongly for a special relationship between our two countries. I hope that this visit will mark its beginnings. Thank you and good afternoon.

#### Signs Joint Trade Communique

HK3108044188 Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan  
in Tagalog 0400 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] The Philippine Government yesterday signed a joint communique with Brunei to strengthen the close ties between the two countries. Cabinet Secretary Ping de Jesus reads part of the joint communique:

[Begin de Jesus recording in English] Both leaders agreed to continue to promote closer bilateral relations, in particular for traders to recognize the existing potential



for the expansion of cooperation between the two countries in bilateral trade, investments, communication, shipping, and construction. Both leaders also noted the need to encourage joint efforts to facilitate direct interaction between private sectors from both countries to realize these potentials.

The two leaders were gratified that through the state visit they have been able to reaffirm anew the relations of friendship and mutual trust existing between Brunei Darussalam and the Republic of the Philippines. Both leaders expressed the readiness of the two governments to continue to cooperate closely in order to [word indistinct] their friendly relations on an even firmer basis. [end recording]

#### **Receives Pledge of Support**

*HK3108041988 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] President Aquino yesterday [30 August] concluded her state visit to Brunei Darussalam after getting Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah's assurance of his country's support for the \$10 billion multination aid plan for the Philippines. The president, together with her delegation of cabinet secretaries, left yesterday, taking home several agreements and commitments on greater economic and diplomatic cooperation, and a much better deal for thousands of Filipino workers there. The president said that Sultan Bolkiah assured her of his complete support for the multination Philippine aid plan, or the so-called mini-Marshall Plan. Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus said the sultan's brother Prince Haji Mohammad Bolkiah, who is also foreign affairs minister, indicated Brunei's readiness to be a member of the preparatory committee that will pave the way for the implementation of the aid plan. Bolkiah agreed that Brunei will support and sit as a member of the preparatory committee for the aid plan, but no amounts have been discussed yet.

#### **Leaves for Home**

*BK3108033488 Hong Kong AFP in English 0330 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] Bandar Seri Begawan, Aug 31 (AFP)—Philippine President Corazon Aquino left for home Wednesday after a three-day official visit to Brunei.

Mrs Aquino was seen off by Bruneian ruler Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah and all his cabinet ministers.

#### **Malaysia**

##### **Mahathir Addresses Nation; Stresses Unity**

*BK3008144188 Kuala Lumpur RTM Television Network 1 in Malay 1235 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Speech by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed on the eve of national day—30 August—recorded]

[Text] Peace be upon you! We thank Almighty God for allowing us to once again welcome the national day—the country's 31st independence day. We are also thankful

that our country is peaceful and prosperous. Over the past 31 years, our country has achieved much progress in many fields. The development and progress we have been enjoying have brought benefits to the people as a whole. This development and progress can be achieved because of prevailing peace and stability in our country. With the exception of the May 1969 incident, we as a whole have managed to strengthen relations among the races and achieve understanding in the multiracial society in this country. With unity and understanding, Malaysia has moved ahead. Because Malaysian society is united, we have managed to face and overcome various challenges internally and externally since we gained independence.

It is certainly proved that unity is very important. Because of this, the government always gives priority to unity. For us in Malaysia, unity is not only very important but is also a factor that determines whether this country will progress or regress. Given the importance of this unity, government policies and programs take into account the unity factor. The national education policy is designed to further enhance unity among the people. The new economic policy is also designed to achieve a more genuine unity. So are other government policies. In addition, the government is encouraging activities which can further strengthen understanding and unity. This year, "unity" is chosen as the theme of the national day celebrations. This proves the importance of unity for us. Even our themes in the previous years had elements pertaining to unity and loyalty to the country. Unity must always be the compass and basis of our action and activities.

Ladies and gentlemen! We can see how disunity and quarrels have occurred among the inhabitants of several countries. Disputes, quarrels, and civil wars have often occurred due to the absence of unity. The consequences are very sorrowful. Thousands of lives have been lost. Most of them were innocent people, including small children. Life is full of sufferings and misery. Property has been destroyed, and the people face constant difficulties. Such a situation should accordingly serve as an example to us given the characteristics of our country's society. Accordingly, we must earnestly try to further enhance unity. If we neglect unity, the people and country will incur negative consequences. While the government is trying to further enhance unity and understanding among the people, there are factions which are belittling and even obstructing these efforts. Indeed, not only are they disturbers, but they are also antisocial. They are opponents of social unity. Such factions do not want to see unity and cooperation in Malaysian society. They prefer seeing Malaysian society disunited. Accordingly, we must be vigilant and watch the activities of these antisocial factions. We cannot allow them to spread and develop their activities.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is well known that our country's progress depends greatly on stability and unity. It is also obvious that we must try harder and more resolutely to

strengthen national unity. The further enhancement of unity is the responsibility of all, including the people, the government, responsible agencies, and social bodies. Each of us, regardless of our positions in society, has his or her respective role in achieving this goal. Indeed, Malaysian society already has discipline and etiquette conducive to stronger unity. It is true that unity has existed in this country. But, what we want is to enhance and maintain this unity. As I earlier mentioned, we have chosen "unity" as the theme of the national day celebrations this year. However, the theme alone is not adequate. We should perceive it in our daily life. This is very important, and our practices and action are expected to truly reflect a united society.

Ladies and gentlemen, I believe that Malaysian society will earnestly try to further enhance and strengthen national unity. I am also convinced that the Malaysian people, who have a spirit of loyalty and who can sacrifice themselves, will give priority to national unity and understanding so that Malaysia will be truly united. God willing, our country will always be preserved and united.

May God guide and help us, and may peace be upon you!

### **Cambodia**

**Heng Samrin Greets GDR Counterpart on Birthday**  
BK3008053788 Phnom Penh SPK in French  
0410 GMT 30 August 88

[Text] Heng Samrin, KPRP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the PRK Council of State, conveyed his warmest congratulations to his counterpart Enrich Honecker of the GDR on the occasion of the latter's 76th birthday.

He mainly said in the message:

I earnestly follow and highly appreciate your efforts in transforming central Europe into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, particularly heightening the reputation of the GDR in the international arena.

I am firmly convinced that the multifaceted relations between the parties, governments, and peoples of our two countries will further develop and consolidate with every passing day for the benefit of peace and socialism.

**Party Paper on Mixed State-Private Economy**  
BK3108081188 Phnom Penh Domestic Service  
in Cambodian 2300 GMT 28 Aug 88

[PRACHEACHON editorial: "The Potential of Mixed State-Private Economy"]

[Text] The party and state recently adopted the principle of increasing the potential of the state economy by combining it with the private sector to complement the

potential of the four economic sectors, namely state, cooperative, family, and private economies, in which the state and cooperative economies play a dominant role in the national economy.

In accordance with the directive to build and restore the economic and social base set by the party's fourth and fifth congresses, the speed of our national economy, which started from zero, is gradually being restored. A number of results is being scored in every field. Achieving all-around development in the country requires the maximum use of capital inside and outside the country and its appropriate use to increase a progressive material, scientific, and technical base. The four economic sectors are currently moving in the direction of serving the interests of the country and people.

However, considering the situation as a whole, we still have not used to the maximum the capital inside and outside the country to really respond to the country's increasing needs and to increase the speed of development in our country in the new phase. Therefore, the setting up of the mixed state-private economy is an attempt to find measures to expand the possibilities of economic potentials, which is necessary in bringing our national economy onto the path of vigorous progress, producing all kinds of goods to serve society and increasing to the maximum society's labor force.

This is a picture in which the state and individuals invest together to increase both administrative and technical skills, and to reap benefits agreed upon in the contracts. This is an important policy encouraging the private sector to invest capital, production means, and technical expertise, and work with the state to ensure that requirements concerning goods production and circulation to serve the entire society are met. The mixed state-private economy further ensures the expansion of investment by the private sector and the use of advanced experiences in running production businesses by being more active as guaranteed in a joint contract.

This economic potential is demonstrated in handicrafts and industry, such as the production of consumer goods, tools, transport means, building material, export goods; the processing of farm, aquatic, and forest products, and foodstuffs; the exploitation of mines and large farms growing industrial crops; and the service industry, such as the sectors serving tourists, hotels, temples, theater halls, transport of passengers, and trade. Our state runs state enterprises in order to expand the important role of the state economy and the mixed state-private economy in building the national economy. Along with this, the state will provide active assistance to building cooperative, family, and private economies and develop them as long as they are beneficial to the state and the people's standard of living.

**VODK Raps Nguyen Co Thach Bangkok Statement**  
*BK3108052388 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Station commentary: "The Vietnamese Aggressors Have No Right To Link the Vietnamese Troop Withdrawal Issue With Any Other Problems"]

[Text] On 26 August, in Bangkok, Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnamese foreign minister, arrogantly announced once again that if Thailand, China, and other countries stop aiding the Cambodian resistance forces, Vietnam will shorten the timetable for Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia to 9 or 12 months, that is, within 1989 or the beginning of 1990.

From this abovementioned arrogant announcement by Nguyen Co Thach, everyone realizes that Vietnam is not willing to settle the Cambodian problem politically, nor is it preparing to withdraw its troops from Cambodia as it has repeatedly announced. Moreover, Vietnam has even made demands and set conditions for various countries to stop supporting the Cambodian people's just struggle against the Vietnamese aggression.

The people in general are of the same opinion that Vietnam is the aggressor who invades and occupies Cambodia in a gross and barbarous violation of the norms governing international relations and the UN Charter. Therefore, Vietnam is guilty of the crimes of invading and occupying Cambodia, massacring millions of Cambodians during the past nearly 10 years, and causing hundreds of thousands of Cambodian people to become refugees, fleeing everywhere throughout the world. For this reason, the Vietnamese aggressors must withdraw all their troops from Cambodia unconditionally and quickly in accordance with the UN resolutions and the persistent demand of the world community to resolve the Cambodian problem justly and comprehensively.

Vietnam has no right to set conditions for the others to follow.

During the informal meeting in Bogor, Jakarta, Mr [Kasemsamoson] Kasemi, secretary general of the Thai Foreign Ministry, said: We see it as not only our right but also our duty to help, in every way we can, the legitimate government that has been recognized by 117 UN member nations to rid itself of foreign aggression and occupation.

CPC General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has said: The war in Cambodia resulted from Vietnamese aggression. Therefore, to successfully resolve the Cambodian problem, first of all, Vietnam must quickly withdraw all its troops from Cambodia. China only adheres to justice, opposes the aggression, and defends the principles of international relations and the UN Charter. China, along with the other countries, supports Cambodia's just struggle against the Vietnamese aggression.

These constitute a clear response to the various conditions set by Vietnam in its attempt to legitimate the Vietnamese aggression in Cambodia and the Vietnamese puppets in Phnom Penh, thus enabling it to avoid withdrawing all its aggressor troops from Cambodia and to forever occupy Cambodia.

Vietnam should know that so long as it persists in creating pretexts to avoid withdrawing all its aggressor troops from Cambodia in accordance with the UN resolutions, the world community will certainly continue supporting the Cambodian people's just struggle against the Vietnamese aggression and jointly exert all-around pressure on it, politically, diplomatically, and economically, until Vietnam agrees to seriously settle the Cambodian problem politically by withdrawing all its aggressor troops from Cambodia within the framework of a comprehensive and clear agreement and with international supervision.

**DK Army Memorandum on SRV 'Crimes'**  
*BK2908101988 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 27 Aug 88*

[18 August "memorandum" of the Political Department of the DK National Army High Command]

[Text] Memorandum: What guilt have the Hanoi authorities—the great war criminals—incurred toward the Cambodian people, the Vietnamese people, the Southeast Asian peoples, and the world peoples?

Over the past 2 months, the Hanoi authorities and their associates have raised the issue about what they call the Khmer Rouge and the DK leaders in a vociferous and oft-repeated propaganda campaign through their public address system and other methods and those of their associates—both near and far, openly and covertly. Particularly, they set the condition that they would withdraw their aggressor troops from Cambodia only if the DK and its leaders were eliminated.

That the Hanoi Vietnamese and their associates have tried through their propaganda to attack DK and its leaders is nothing new. In the seventies, before Hanoi sent troops to invade Cambodia, they also launched similar propaganda attacks. In the eighties, after Hanoi has invaded and occupied Cambodia, they still do the same. People wonder why Vietnam and its associates, near and far, keep attacking the DK and its leaders so viciously? People ask this question because they see that Vietnam is a big country with a large population and a large army—tens of times larger than the DK's—and has invaded and been occupying Cambodia for nearly 10 years now. The Hanoi authorities are also threatening Southeast Asia. By contrast, the DK is a tiny country with a small population; it is a weak country that poses a



threat to no one and which has suffered from Vietnamese aggression and occupation. Why then are the Hanoi authorities and their associates, near and far, attacking the DK and its leaders?

This question triggers a number of explanations as follows:

1. What is the cause behind the Hanoi authorities and their associates' vigorous and relentless propaganda attacks against the DK and its leaders? The causes are as follows:

The Hanoi authorities clearly understand that the DK and its leaders constitute a major obstacle that prevents Hanoi from swallowing up Cambodian territory. In the past, they failed through political attempts, persuasion, deception, threats, assassination attempts, coup plots, attacks from the sea and on islands, and border raids. They have also failed through their war of aggression since the end of 1978 to completely occupy Cambodia. On the contrary, Vietnam's war of aggression against Cambodia has dragged on for nearly 10 years now, and no end is in sight. This has caused dire difficulties for Vietnam on the battlefield of aggression in Cambodia and has caused extreme hardship in Vietnam. Moreover, Vietnam has also been strongly condemned by world opinion in the international arena.

The failure to occupy Cambodia has erected great obstacles to the Hanoi authorities' minor, medium, and major Indochinese federation designs—which might be pushed toward collapse in the end. For these reasons, the Hanoi authorities have fabricated and are fabricating excuses by accusing the DK and its leaders—similar to the methods Hitler used.

As witnessed by history, we know about the Sarajevo event that was used as a pretext for World War I; about Hitler's territorial expansionist policy in threatening and seizing the Rhineland, Sudeten, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, and Poland; and the Munich incident that started World War II.

It is still fresh in everybody's memory that in Munich in 1938, after occupying the Rhineland, Sudeten, Austria, and Czechoslovakia—the major strategic areas—Hitler and Mussolini forced Chamberlain and Daladier to sign the 1938 Munich peace pact. It was the Munich pact that gave Hitler carte blanche to start World War II with impunity.

As for the DK and its leaders, they refused to bow to Vietnam or let it intimidate them either through attacks from the sea, on islands, and along the border; through frequent coup plots; or through the invasion by hundreds of thousands of Hanoi troops. They dared to overcome all kinds of obstacles, stay firmly close to the nation and people, fight directly on the battlefield, and cause the Hanoi authorities all-around serious hardship and impasse. All of this constitutes a major obstacle to

Vietnam in the past, at present, and in the future. It is a major obstacle to the strategy of annexing Cambodian territory and to the minor, medium, and major Indochinese federation designs of the Hanoi authorities.

The Hanoi authorities thus implemented a policy like Hitler, who thought he had to exterminate the Jews as part of his policy of purifying the Aryan race. Vietnam then tried to create a modern Munich pact regarding the Cambodian problem in order to destroy DK and its leaders in the manner of Munich II, III, and so on; just as it did in Havana in 1979 during the conference of nonaligned nations. It has assembled and is assembling people to hold another Havana-style Munich conference. At the same time, the Hanoi authorities are also looking for the Chamberlain, Daladier, Petain, and Vichy of the Cambodian problem.

The old and new histories of the aggressors and their associates are alike. They operate in the same way. They look for similar pretexts, maneuvers, or Munich-style conferences; and they intimidate other people into submitting to them one step at a time to implement their policies and strategies. However, it would be very difficult for Vietnam to revive old history at will so late in this 20th century. The overwhelming majority of peoples and countries have witnessed the experiences of the world or their personal experiences in the struggle to wrest back their independence, rights, and freedom from the claws of colonialism and neocolonialism. They would not allow the Vietnamese aggressors to conjure up Munich II or III at will, and they would not submit—as Chamberlain, Daladier, or Petain did in the past—to deception, pressure, or intimidation from the Vietnamese aggressors.

People in the world see that the root cause of the Cambodian problem is the Hanoi aggression against and occupation of Cambodia. They see the strategic policy of the Hanoi authorities regarding Cambodia and Hanoi's minor, medium, and major Indochinese federations. They see that the Hanoi authorities have been stubbornly committing aggression against and occupying Cambodia for nearly 10 years now, with no end in sight. They see all of these deceptive political and diplomatic maneuvers of the Hanoi authorities and their associates, and they automatically and clearly understand why Vietnam and its associates have so viciously attacked DK and its leaders.

2. Whose theory do the Hanoi authorities implement in their propaganda attacks against DK and its leaders, and does anybody believe them?

The Hanoi authorities are experiencing great hardship on the battlefield of aggression in Cambodia, are suffering from dire difficulties in Vietnam, and are utterly isolated on the international stage; but they pretend to be all right, lording it over and even bullying and intimidating other people. The truth is that the Soviet Union,

seeing that Vietnam succeeded at first in invading Cambodia, followed the road taken by Vietnam by invading Afghanistan, but it became deeply bogged down there as it lost to the struggle of the Afghan people. Likewise, Vietnam lost to the struggle of the Cambodian people because its blitzkrieg strategy—first believed to conclude the war within a couple of months—has been protracted for nearly 10 years now. These events also clearly show that in the new era of the late 20th century, big powers or big countries cannot use brute force to invade and occupy smaller, weaker countries at will. They may succeed in invading them, but they cannot occupy them. They can only get inextricably bogged down in the war of aggression they started.

Despite all of this, as far as the Hanoi authorities are concerned, they have tried hard to implement Goebbels' theory, which states that lies and propaganda repeated all day and all night will lead people to believe that they are true. Hanoi has implemented this theory, and they are very tenacious in making propaganda to deceive people about the Cambodian issue. There is no counting how many times world opinion has been exposed to the lies and deceptive propaganda ploys of the Hanoi authorities since 1978, when Vietnam sent hundreds of thousands of troops to invade Cambodia. Vietnam, however, remains stubborn and tenaciously persists in implementing the Goebbels' theory in connivance with its associates—both near and far—who share the same interests.

Do people in the world believe the premeditated, systematic, deceptive, and mendacious propaganda of Vietnam and its associates about the Cambodian problem and about the DK and its leaders? Are there any reasons or proof to believe or not to believe it?

Facts over the past nearly 10 years—during which Vietnam has conducted aggression against and occupation of Cambodia, has failed to completely occupy Cambodia, and has experienced great hardship both on the Cambodian battlefield and in Vietnam and utter isolation on the international stage—clearly show that the Hanoi authorities failed in their implementation of the Goebbels' theory. Examples are as follows:

#### The norms of international relations:

The absolute majority of peoples and countries the world over are opposed to the Vietnamese aggressors. They firmly adhere to the principles of the norms of international relations and the five principles of peaceful coexistence between states. In particular, virtually every small- and medium-sized Third World country is worried by the aggression, violation, and expansion of big and medium powers or the arbitrary violation of a weaker country by a stronger one. So they resolutely adhere to the principles and norms of international relations and the UN Charter. Therefore, no aggressors—even Vietnamese aggressors in Cambodia—can deceive or fool them with whatever propaganda tricks,

because they resolutely adhere to the principles and norms of international relations. For this reason, when the Hanoi authorities try to fool these countries with their propaganda about the Cambodian problem, they are unambiguously told: You have committed aggression against Cambodia, and you must withdraw all your aggressor forces from Cambodia.

This is the verdict handed down by world opinion, especially the overwhelming majority of the Third World countries, which adhere to the principles and norms of international relations. These countries truly uphold justice and the principles of international law. There is no grey area with them; they absolutely do not call white black and black white. They never mistake an aggressor for a victim of aggression. They absolutely do not make the principles of international law an object of bargaining or deception.

#### The UN resolutions of the past 9 years:

Regarding the war in Cambodia, the United Nations has for the past 9 years adopted the following unambiguous resolutions:

In 1979, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 91 votes, adopted the resolution ordering foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw from Cambodia.

In 1980, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 97 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1981, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 100 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1982, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 105 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1983, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 105 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1984, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 110 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1985, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 114 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1986, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 115 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

In 1987, the UN General Assembly, by a majority of 117 votes, adopted a resolution ordering all foreign Hanoi Vietnamese troops which committed aggression against Cambodia to completely withdraw.

This glaringly shows that the United Nations, the world's supreme organization, has indicted the Hanoi Vietnamese as the aggressors against Cambodia and resolved by an overwhelming majority that the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors against Cambodia must withdraw all their aggressor troops from Cambodia.

This also shows that a majority of as many as 117 countries have condemned Hanoi as the aggressor; as the one who has violated and trampled upon international law and the UN charter; as the accused, the defendant, as the culprit unequivocally indicted by the whole world through the votes of the 117 countries in the United Nations.

This is most obvious. No matter how hard the Hanoi authorities and their associates tried to conceal, camouflage, or divert the problem, truth remains truth in the face of the world's countries and peoples.

### 3. Whom do the Hanoi authorities fear in Cambodia?

The most fundamental reason shows that the Vietnamese aggressors and occupiers of Cambodia are afraid of those who attack them and cause them difficulties on the Cambodian battlefield. Who then attacks them and causes them serious difficulties on the Cambodian battlefield? It is the Cambodian people who dare to unite in the almost 10-year-old national liberation war against the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors, fighting tenaciously in all fields—military, political, economic, propaganda, and psychological—and in a very closely knit manner. Among these people who are waging this national liberation resistance war against the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors are all patriotic forces both inside the country and abroad. The Vietnamese enemy believes that the DK forces and leaders play an important role in these forces, functioning closely with the nation and people by leading and joining the entire Cambodian people in attacking the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors, by cutting their bases on the battlefield, and by causing the Vietnamese to experience serious hardships in all fields to the point that the Hanoi authorities realize that they will inevitably suffer total defeat one day on the Cambodian battlefield, the same fate that befell all big and small aggressors in world history.

This is the true situation, clearly showing that the DK has remained close to the nation and the people and that the forces of the nation and people have stayed with DK and its leaders to fight the Vietnamese aggressors for

national liberation for the past nearly 10 years under most trying and arduous conditions. Ordinary people, simple citizens in the world, and especially peace- and justice-loving peoples and countries in the world clearly see and clearly understand the premise of this analysis; namely, if the DK and its leaders were not close to the nation and the people and did not enjoy the support of the forces of the nation and people, they would not be able to fight and drive the Vietnamese aggressors into such an impasse for the past nearly 10 years.

In past and present times, some countries have been swallowed up because their people did not fight and because they did not have the forces to lead the people to wage a war for national defense and liberation. Vietnam and its associates absolutely cannot counter this premise of analysis, nor can they deceive or divert the opinion and consciousness of the Cambodian and world peoples. World support is also a very significant factor for which the Cambodian people would like to forever express their thanks.

4. What are the foreign and domestic policies of the Hanoi authorities? This is asked to judge the behavior of the Hanoi authorities.

The Hanoi authorities have carried out their foreign policy by:

A. Implementing the minor, medium, and major Indo-chinese federation strategy;

B. Annexing Laos through concrete measures since 1954 and particularly since the signing of the agreement on the Vietnamese-Lao border in 1977;

C. Sending hundreds of thousands of troops to invade and occupy Cambodia since the end of 1978, waging a war of aggression and occupation of Cambodia for nearly 10 years, and continuing to wage this war;

D. Constantly threatening peace, security, and stability in Southeast Asia for the past nearly 10 years and continuing to pose this threat unendingly;

E. Allowing Soviet naval and air bases in Vietnamese territory at Cam Ranh and Da Nang as the Soviet Union's springboard and strategic bases for threat and forward drive;

F. Serving as the foremost post of the Soviet bloc according to the Soviet-Vietnamese peace and military treaty signed in 1978 to implement the Vietnamese regional strategy and the Soviet global strategy in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

The Vladivostok statement made by Gorbachev in July 1986 also included the agreement on the Vietnamese-Soviet alliance and the Cam Ranh-Da Nang military bases.



What is the domestic policy of the Hanoi authorities?

The Hanoi authorities have implemented a fascist domestic policy. How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people have been jailed? How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese youths have been forcibly recruited and sent to serve as cannon fodder in their aggression against Cambodia? How many millions of Vietnamese people have starved, and how many others have not had enough to eat? How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people have died in new economic zones? How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have fled their country due to this fascist policy of the Hanoi authorities? In particular, how many thousands and even tens of thousands of Vietnamese people died miserably each year in the deep seas while fleeing by boat? How many Khmer Kraom nationals have died or been separated due to the fascist policy of the Hanoi authorities? What about the hill tribes—the Mnong, Rhade, and Jarai in central Vietnam? How many of them have been massacred?

This is a fascist act the Hanoi Vietnamese leaders have been carrying out since 1975. How should the Hanoi Vietnamese be punished for their crimes, foreign policy, and fascist policy and activities in their own country? People can see that the Hanoi Vietnamese leaders are guilty of waging an expansionist war outside the country and also guilty of serious crimes against the Vietnamese people in Vietnam itself. As for the puppet leaders Vietnam has propped up following its invasion and occupation of Cambodia to cover up its act of aggression, what is their status? They are accomplices of the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors in massacring the Cambodian people and exterminating the Cambodian race. These leaders' crimes have been very heavy in the past nearly 10 years; they have been collaborating with the Hanoi Vietnamese to occupy Cambodia and massacre the Cambodian people and race.

The entire Cambodian people, both inside the country and abroad, consider these puppet leaders as traitors and out-and-out lackeys of the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors and exterminators of the Cambodian race. Contemporary and future history will clearly record this, and no one can change this from black to white or vice versa.

5. The Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors and the traitors that the Vietnamese propped up in Phnom Penh are guilty of crimes to massacre the Vietnamese and Cambodian people. The Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors have repeatedly spread deceitful propaganda saying they are innocent and the plaintiffs in the case. So in order to continue their occupation in Cambodia, they turned to accusing the DK and its leaders.

In fact, all the evidence cited above shows that leaders of the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors and leaders of their puppets in Phnom Penh are great war criminals and great murderers who have massacred the Cambodian and Vietnamese people and are Southeast Asia's Hitler,

threatening countries and people in the whole of Southeast Asia. Therefore, the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors have no right to accuse the DK and its leaders.

The DK, a small and weak country with a small population, very much needs peace. The DK wants to coexist peacefully with Vietnam, the Vietnamese people, and other neighboring countries; to build the country; and improve its own people's living standards. The DK has never committed aggression against neighboring countries. It has never been the slightest military, political, propaganda, psychological, or economic threat to any neighboring countries. Although the Hanoi Vietnamese have sent hundreds of thousands of troops to invade and occupy Cambodia and sow great destruction and suffering unprecedented in its history, DK has always shown goodwill in wanting to resolve the Cambodian problem politically and coexist with the Vietnamese people. This is why the DK has again and again insisted on a treaty of peace and nonaggression between Vietnam and Cambodia.

The CGDK has proposed resolving the Cambodian problem through an eight-point plan dated 17 March 1986. It has also put forth a four-point proposal dated 25 June 1988. On 15 August 1988, DK also put forth a proposal for a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem to the point of saying that if the Hanoi Vietnamese solve the Cambodian problem politically by pulling out their aggressor troops from Cambodia, the DK will not demand any war compensation.

However, confronted with the DK's successive and systematic goodwill, the Hanoi Vietnamese remain stubborn and stick to their Indochinese federation strategy. They continue to commit aggression against and annex Cambodia. They have carried out all kinds of maneuvers—military and political—to deceive people and to eliminate DK and its leaders. The Hanoi Vietnamese and their accomplices want the entire DK eliminated, or at least the DK leaders. They keep changing the number of DK leaders to be eliminated—from 200 to another number, from 20 to a few, between 4 and 10. People ask this question: If Vietnam behaves this way, what happens to international law? Can a country's army impose, give orders to, and decide the destiny of another country at will like this? What would happen to world peace and security? Countries and people the world over categorically oppose this, except the Hanoi Vietnamese and their accomplices.

On this occasion, the DK would like to inform national and international opinion that if the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors remain stubborn and continue to raise the issue of eliminating the DK and its leaders, the DK will reserve the right to respond as plaintiff to the Hanoi Vietnamese—for the world to see—and provide a list of Hanoi Vietnamese leaders to be eliminated as well. This list will be provided if necessary.

The Hanoi Vietnamese have been committing aggression against Cambodia for nearly 10 years. The United Nations and the international community have demanded that they solve the Cambodian problem politically by withdrawing all their forces from Cambodia to let the Cambodian people decide their destiny themselves. People have insisted on this. However, the Hanoi Vietnamese remain stubborn and insist on continuing their war of aggression to occupy Cambodia. They have carried out successive deceitful maneuvers on the Cambodian problem and used this or that excuse to continue their occupation of Cambodia as a part of the Indochinese federation. This shows that the Hanoi Vietnamese have not changed their political and strategic position or their original aim. The statements they have successively issued are just maneuvers and facades to deceive others.

In this situation, the DK, the Cambodian people, and all Cambodian nationalists—both inside the country and abroad—have no other choice but to continue their struggle to liberate the nation from the grip of the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors and race exterminators. The world has no other choice but to continue its assistance and support for the Cambodian people's national liberation struggle against the Hanoi Vietnamese aggressors by striving to continue its all-around pressure on Vietnam in the international arena until the Hanoi Vietnamese agree to solve the Cambodian problem politically by withdrawing all their forces from Cambodia and letting the Cambodian people decide their destiny themselves.

The world realizes that only in this way can the Hanoi Vietnamese be prevented from implementing their strategy of a small, medium, and large Indochinese federation, which is a serious danger to all Southeast Asia and to the Asia-Pacific region as well.

[Dated] 18 August 1988

[Signed] Political Department of the DK National Army High Command

### Laos

**Radio Calls for Resumption of Thai Border Talks**  
*BK3108122588 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao*  
0000 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Feature: "Who Caused Damage to the Thai-Lao Border Situation?"]

[Text] Right after its presentation to the National Assembly, the policy statement of the new Thai Government of Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan was branded by the opposition as a lie. General Athit Kamlang-ek, former head of the Thai Armed Forces and now member of the House of Representatives from Loei Province, also criticized the government's foreign policy by saying that Thailand would suffer from losing its territory to the Lao side and that the government would

not be able to solve the problem. The Thai people and general public opinion are concerned with and do not understand the utterance made by this former Thai military officer.

As we all know, the Lao and Thai peoples have maintained the fine tradition of fraternal and neighborly relations from time immemorial. Based on this tradition and the efforts jointly made by the two countries, the Thai-Lao and Lao-Thai joint communiques were signed in 1979. It is the aspiration of the Lao and Thai peoples that the contents and spirit of two joint communiques be materialized. Every border conflict runs counter to the Lao people's desire. The border disputes triggered by a number of bad elements in the Thai ruling circles such as in the Thai Foreign Ministry of the Prem V government have caused considerable damage to both sides. In particular, the conflict in the area between Boten and Chat Trakan Districts has senselessly claimed numerous lives of the beloved children of the Thai and Lao peoples, causing the most acute pain and indignation among the Lao and Thai peoples. It is attributed to the foreign policy of the Prem V government that a comprehensive solution to the said dispute has been delayed until now. The Thai Armed Forces, thanks to their good understanding of the situation, have joined hands with their Lao counterparts to solve the problem in a timely manner putting an end to the fighting and separating troops of the two countries in accordance with the joint press release dated 17 February 1988.

In any event, the new Thai Government's policy, if implemented as it was presented to the National Assembly on 25 August 1988, will probably lead to a quick settlement of the border conflict between Laos' Boten and Thailand's Chat Trakan Districts on the basis of equality and international law.

Athit Kamlang-ek knows better than anyone else about the dispute over the three Lao hamlets of Mai, Kang, and Savang, in Paklai District of Sayaboury Province, because he was the one who ordered a large number of Thai troops to capture that part of Lao territory. However, things have greatly changed from the past. Athit Kamlang-ek is now only a member of the House of Representatives while his military post is now a matter of the past. Therefore, his idea of using force to solve problems or his intention to ignite once again the fire of the Thai-Lao border dispute which was exposed in his speech at the parliament on 25 August is unlikely to materialize because it runs counter to the regional trend, the aspiration of the Thai and Lao peoples and the peace-loving nations in region and the world, and to the foreign policy of the government of Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan that promotes the settlement of regional and international problem through peaceful means.

Accordingly, it is necessary for the new Thai Government under the leadership of Chatchai Chunhawan to expedite the implementation of the policies, in particular

the foreign policy, which were presented to the parliament, and cooperate with the Lao side to seek ways to resume the negotiations to settle the remaining problems concerning the border dispute between Boten and Chat Trakan Districts through peaceful means on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and the principles of the Lao-Thai borderline treaty signed by France and Siam in 1907 and to foil the dark schemes of the bad elements in Thailand who want to obstruct any effort to solve the problems between the two countries through peaceful means and cause more damage to the already deteriorating Thai-Lao border situation. The resumption of sincere negotiations to solve the remaining problems suits the regional trend for peaceful coexistence and against confrontation and use of force so as to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and genuine cooperation.

**Phoumi Vongvichit Greets New Burmese President**  
BK3108034288 *Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao*  
1200 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of Laos, yesterday sent a greetings message to Dr Maung Maung, new president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. The message reads as follows:

On the occasion of your appointment as president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, on behalf of the Lao people and in my own name, I am pleased to convey warm greetings and best wishes to you and, through you, to the people of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

I am firmly convinced that the existing good-neighborly relations between our two countries and two peoples will be further promoted and expanded with each passing day.

Please accept my sincere best wishes for your good health and for the progress and prosperity of the Burmese people.

**Phoumi Vongvichit Receives WHO Regional Chief**  
BK2708145988 *Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao*  
1200 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] At the Presidential Office this morning [27 August], Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the LPDR, received visiting Dr Hen, acting director general for Western Pacific region of the WHO.

During the meeting, Phoumi Vongvichit expressed sincere gratitude to the organization for the assistance rendered to Laos, thus contributing to the tasks of national defense and socialist construction in Laos.

On 26 August, Khambou Sounisai, minister of public health and social welfare, also received Dr Hen.

**Decree Appoints New Representative to UN**  
BK2638161188 *Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao*  
1200 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] The LPDR Government has issued a decree appointing Sali Khamssi a new LPDR representative to the United Nations in New York. The appointment letter was handed to Sali Khamssi by Phoumi Vongvichit, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and acting president of the LPDR, in the capital city of Vientiane this morning.

During the meeting, Phoumi Vongvichit instructed the new Lao representative to the United Nations to enhance his sense of responsibility so as to carry out his diplomatic duty and tasks assigned to him by the party and state on the basis of the party's foreign policy.

**Saman Vi-gnaket Releases Educational Message**  
BK2908105588 *Vientiane KPL in English* 0911 GMT  
29 Aug 88

[Text] Vientiane, August 29 (KPL)—Saman Vi-gnaket, minister of education, prior to the opening of the 1988-89 academic year, has sent a message to the educational rank and file [teachers] and students' parents in the country as a whole.

Besides mentioning achievements and challenges faced in educational development over the past ten years, the message pointed out educational development for the period up to the year 2000. The educational strategy is designed to providing students, the country's citizens, especially the new Lao generation, with comprehensive technical and scientific knowledge—loving labour, the country and socialism, being self-conscious of one's own well-being and national prosperity.

To this end, it requires realistic changes in teaching and learning methods as well as changes in curricula in line with the new thinking and restructuring in all respects. In addition, it also needs the allocation of substantial aid either financial or material, and constant concern on the part of the administrations at each level, said the message.

As for this academic year, the main task is focussing on creating initial conditions for educational transformation:

—The continuation of literacy campaigns of mass education and resolute fight against a recurrence of illiteracy, the completion of primary education for children aged 6 to 14. Party's education norms should be strictly observed. Vocational, professional and university education should be connected to production, utilization of science and research.

—The encouragement of physical and artistic movements, the raising of the vigilance in political ideology and against the decadent, backward and reactionary culture.



—Meeting the needs of teachers both in terms of materials and morale.

The message suggested, in conclusion, that before the opening of this academic year, necessary facilities should be arranged and provided to schools such as educational tools.

#### **Meets Teachers, Students**

*BK2508140788 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao  
0430 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] On 17 August, Comrade Saman Vi-ngaket, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and education minister, met with a number of teachers and students at the Mountainous Region Development Company. The comrade informed teachers and students about the situation in the world and Southeast Asia and specific tasks and duties to which we must pay attention so as to ensure education and cultural learning for our children. He stressed that teachers must implement the party's educational strategy, concentrate on teaching and training, and extensively pass on knowledge to our children and develop their abilities. As a result, the teachers and students have come to understand the problems in this area.

It was also reported that the youth organization under the education service recently cleared 1.5 hectares for coffee cultivation. So far, 500 coffee trees have been planted. It is expected that the coffee plantation will soon be expanded to cover another 3 hectares.

#### **Youth Union Discusses Youths' Role in Election**

*BK2608054788 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao  
0000 GMT 25 Aug 88*

[Instruction of Secretariat of Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union Central Committee on elections of people's representatives at provincial and central levels—dated 5 August]

[Text] To the executive committees of youth unions of all provinces, city municipalities, and ministries:

Implementing the Law on Election of People's Representatives, in particular Article 4 in Chapter one of the law, implementing the instruction and additional orders of the Secretariat of the LPRP Central Committee on the election of people's representatives at various levels, in particular the provincial and central levels, in pursuance of the decree of chairman of the Council of Ministers No 41, in particular Article 1, on organizing to implement the Law on Election of People's Representatives, complying with the suggestions of the National Election Committee on organizing the election of people's representatives at various levels, and to bring into full play the resolution of the second congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union [LPRYU] in carrying out its concrete tasks, the Secretariat of the LPRYU Central Committee is of the view that in the recent election of

people's representatives at the district level and in the campaigns to score achievements to welcome the second LPRYU congress, the youth union committees at various levels exerted efforts to contribute to encouraging the people and educating and training youth union members to profoundly understand the election work and to exercise their rights to self-mastery to vote in the election, and that they firmly grasped basic measures of turning to the grass roots to consolidate their organizations, give an explanation on the election to the people, canvass votes for candidates, perform the national defense and public security work, and serve as general staffs for the election committees in successfully organizing the district-level election of people's representatives. However, it is noted that our youth union committees failed to take initiatives in regularly educating and training union members, failed to truly turn to the grass roots to enthusiastically encourage the people to fully promote and expand their democratic rights. The canvassing campaigns for candidates were carried out in an insubstantial and unprofound manner. They also failed to serve as strong offensive forces in dealing with all points and all tasks in the election. As a result, not many youth union representatives were elected by the people. They also failed to coordinate with other branches in fulfilling tasks.

To further promote and expand good points and settle various weak points and shortcomings and to make the provincial- and central-level election of people's representatives a highly festive occasion for the entire people throughout the country, the Secretariat of the LPRYU Central Committee, therefore, issues the following work suggestions: The youth union committees at all levels and all union members must profoundly understand the objectives, expectations, and significance of the election of people's representatives. They must try their best to study and learn various resolutions and instructions of higher echelons concerning the election of people's representatives at various levels, coordinate with the Lao Front for National Construction in discussing each point and each task in connection with the election, in particular the vote canvassing for candidates and the proposing of candidates for the election. They must combine the task of publicizing the success of the second youth union congress and bring into full play its resolution with the task of electing people's representatives in order to consolidate their organizations at their respective levels and in particular those in the grass-roots level, draw views from the party committees and election committees at their respective levels to seek concrete methods of organizing the election, serve as staffs for higher echelons and as key forces for fulfilling all tasks, step up production movements during the season, create an enthusiastic atmosphere with adequate contents in their respective localities and units, launch fruitful movements to welcome the provincial- and central-level election of people's representatives, heighten vigilance to check

subversive acts of the enemies and defeat their psychological warfare schemes of creating disturbances, and strive to effectively carry out the national defense and public security work.

The provincial youth committees are instructed to prepare reports on their contributions to success achieved in each stage of the election. After reviewing the achievements and lessons, they must report to the LPRYU Central Committee the number of youths who are elected to be people's representatives and the general situation on the election. Upon receiving this instruction, the youth union committees of all provinces, city municipalities, and ministries are requested to study and organize to appropriately implement it in accordance with the practical conditions of their respective localities and branches.

#### **Plan for Building 'New Countryside' Outlined**

*BK2708094488 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao  
0000 GMT 27 Aug 88*

[Article: "The building of a new countryside in our country"]

[Text] The building of the countryside into urban areas and the shifting of the countryside lifestyle in all respects to be closer to that of the city is a goal which must be attained by our country. It is a national-level policy of our party and state. However, this long process is a time-consuming evolution and a task which must be undertaken by all multiethnic people.

A resolution adopted at the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee stipulates that in parallel with the movement to develop agricultural and goods production, we must have a plan to build a new countryside to meet the requirements of the development of the goods economy by setting up modern cooperatives in all villages.

To what issues must we pay attention in building the new countryside in the immediate future?

The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the party Central Committee spells out as follows:

1. We must set up regulations on the management and utilization of land and the conservation of forests for each village. We must contribute funds and labor together for building collective welfare foundations at each village with a view to assisting people to solve the problem of rice shortages, medical assistance to needy families, and assistance to villagers to start a family life by linking it to a new policy of building living quarters with minimal use of timber and which offer both comfort and sanitation, providing mass transport services to every village, building schools and health stations, setting up rules to regulate the new lifestyle, doing away with all superstitious and backward beliefs, and stepping up public security work among the people to ensure public order in the countryside.

2. In addition to setting up the regulations mentioned above, we must have a plan to build new villages to conform to the prevailing conditions of each tribe in carrying out their livelihood, aimed at further enhancing the fine traditions of each tribal group. As for those tribal people living in mountainous regions and engaging in a nomadic life-style, we must assist them to begin a new lifestyle by providing them with fixed land so as to encourage them to settle down on permanent locations to earn a normal living. State assistance and investment must be provided to those villages to help those people to live a normal life as soon as possible. As for those multiethnic people living in the former resistance zones and inaccessible villages with backward conditions, we must have a policy to render special assistance and pay special attention to promoting educational and cultural development among them so as to raise the standard of their knowledge. We must pay attention to educating the younger generation so as to persuade them to continue living in their native villages and to become a new laboring class in the countryside.

3. We must rapidly develop and expand the communications network in the countryside to facilitate inter-district and intervillage contacts and exchanges in each district. A pivotal area for each group of villages must be set up where highways merge or cut across each other. Then, shops and other establishments must be built in that area to be a direct link among villages and between state shops and village trading cooperatives with a view to providing double services to farming families. We must encourage people to set up small-scale industrial, handicraft, and service enterprises at this pivotal area. After that, this pivotal area will be developed into another district for the countryside.

All this is the policy of our party and state in building a new countryside in our country.

#### **Control on Land Resources Encouraged**

*BK2808150188 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao  
0000 GMT 26 Aug 88*

[Unattributed "editorial": "Set Up an Ownership System of National Community Toward Land Resources"]

[Text] The largest source of capital and the most valuable heritage of our nation is land resources. Therefore, to create new production relations in agriculture and to pave the way for the goods economy to develop systematically, it is necessary that an ownership system of the national community be set up concerning all land resources, with the central state as the sole enforcer of that ownership. This is aimed at distributing land to all target groups for effective utilization, solving the problem of land being abandoned as waste or ownerless property, and of wanton and uncontrolled exploitation and illegal trading of land.

A resolution adopted at the sixth plenum of the fourth party Central Committee stipulates that on the basis of the state guarantee and management of land ownership, an action must be taken to distribute and to parcel out land and forests to each village and to assign plots of land to all farming families. This is a correct measure which conforms to the reality in our country because it will allow each family to proportionately bind labor to land in an effort to improve the efficiency of land use so as to develop crop cultivation, livestock raising, forestry work and to systematically, programatically, and correctly guide agriculture to switch from the natural economy to the goods economy.

To successfully implement the above-mentioned measure, it is necessary that efforts be made to remeasure land acreage with a view to carrying out appropriate land distribution, conducting land registration, enforcing measures on land use, and investigating and correctly assigning land ownership in accordance with the state law.

In addition to distributing and parcelling land and forests to each village and assigning a plot of land to each farming family, attention must be paid to developing and setting up trading cooperatives in all villages with funds collected among farmers themselves acting as partners, aimed at providing double services to each farming family. The setting up of trading cooperatives with funds collected from farmers as partners is necessary. However, attention must also be paid to the issue of the modification of the cooperative system. That was why the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee stressed that in a village where an agricultural cooperative has already been set up, plots of ricefields must be assigned to all farming families to carry out production under contracts. As for those farming families engaging in independent production, they should be persuaded to participate in cooperative work by contributing funds to set up trading cooperatives. The modification of the cooperative system should be carried out in accordance with the Leninist principle which stipulates that the state controls the ownership of production tools, especially ricefields, and that the working class controls the administrative power in coordination with firm controls over the right to guide the farming class. Only by doing this will the working class be mobilized to participate in agricultural production in an extensive manner.

Another issue that must be taken into account in carrying out the goods economy is to link private interests with the state control, that is by closely linking the private interests with those of society. This is a path which can be easily accepted by farmers. In operating the cooperative system under the old line of thinking, emphasis was placed on switching the ownership of land and other production factors to be under a collective control and on dividing income according to the ratio of work days. That method ruled out the right to land use for, and strictly controlled by, farmers. As a result,

negative effects were created for cooperative members. Productivity was low. The living conditions of farmers were very poor. Thus, progress could not be made by any cooperatives.

The resolution adopted at the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee spells out the modification of the cooperative, stressing that in the immediate future, we must encourage as many farmers as possible to join in trading cooperatives so as to help them create conditions for completely utilizing the state ownership of land. Farmers can participate in a production cooperative through their participation in a trading cooperative on the basis that they voluntarily contribute land and funds to take part in this business enterprise and sell their products to the state. When farmers understand their right to land use and that their land will not be nationalized, they will become more confident to enthusiastically carry out production.

In modifying the cooperative system, the implementation of the contractual system with farming families and the provision of the double services to them are the factors attributed to the broadening of production in the agricultural, forestry, and livestock raising fields. To effectively implement the new-type contractual system, it is important that cooperative operations be switched to be under the business accounting system by creating the trading relations between the state trading service with the markets, ensuring an adequate supply of goods for contractual families, creating conditions for farmers to increase production and the marketing of goods, aimed at meeting the requirements of the state and markets.

It should be clearly understood that this contractual mechanism is not a path which will lead farmers back to the independent production system. On the contrary, it is a form of economic cooperation that relies on the coordination between the cooperative and its members. This contractual form of cooperation is suitable to agricultural production. It is able to ensure effective productivity and to bring genuine interests to farmers. Due to the implementation of this contractual mechanism and the double service system, a close relationship between the state and farmers will be firmly created.

Only by relying on the system of the state having ownership on land with farmers having the right to its full use will we be able to ensure that the movement of switching to agricultural cooperativization can be carried out in a correct direction and effectively developed and that farmers will not be put under any pressure as they were under the old-type cooperative system. Nevertheless, efforts must be made to avoid entering contracts with farmers without any control imposed on them because such a practice will eventually lead them back to the independent production system.



## Philippines

**Newsman Seek Open Coverage of Bases Talk**  
*HK3108053588 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY GLOBE*  
*in English 31 Aug 88 p 6*

[By staff writer Pamela A. Balcena, with report from D.J. Sta. Ana]

[Text] Newsman asked the Supreme Court yesterday to prevent the closed-door review of the RP [Republic of the Philippines]-U.S. Military Bases Agreement, saying it violates the freedom of the press.

In an 11-page petition for mandamus filed with the court, five professional organizations of journalists said newsmen should be given access to all information on the items agreed upon by the Philippine and United States panels in the review of the bases pact.

The petitioners were the People's Movement for Press Freedom [PMPF]; the National Union of Journalists of the Philippines, the Association of Commentators and announcers of the Philippines Inc., the Philippine Union of Broadcasters and the Media in Action.

Named respondents in the petition were Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus, head of the Philippine panel, and its members, Leonides Caday, Juanito Amado, Felicísimo Gacis and Teresita Castro.

The petitioners maintained that the closed-door negotiations, which started in April, is "violative" of the newsmen's constitutional right to press freedom since the regular press briefings were merely in the nature of "super hearsay."

They argued that since the newsmen had no choice but to rely on the press briefings where information was "filtered," the petitioners alleged that "the people were not accurately informed" of the developments in the talks.

The petitioners also described as "constitutionally obnoxious" U.S. Ambassador Nicolas Platt's justification that the secrecy surrounding the review is no different from negotiations for "a dowry or the purchase of a house."

"U.S. military bases in the Philippines cannot be equated with dowry or a house and, therefore, negotiations on the former cannot be compared with the latter," the petitioners said.

"Platt's justification is only synonymous with a 'sell-out,'" they said.

The journalists added that until the court acts on their petition for more open talks, newsmen "will continue to suffer the grave injustice and irreparable injury" from the Philippine panel's acts.

The media groups said they decided to question the secrecy surrounding the negotiations since the issue being discussed by the two panels were crucial and "of supreme importance" to the people.

In an interview, PMPF president Ricardo Valmonte said both the U.S. and Philippine panels have agreed to an apparent "news management policy" regarding the talks.

Sometimes, the panel's issued joint statements which always ended with: The discussions were conducted in "a cordial and business-like manner," he said.

**Delay Forecast in U.S. Bases Talks**  
*HK3108070988 Hong Kong AFP in English 0655 GMT*  
*31 Aug 88*

[Text] Manila, Aug 31 (AFP)—Talks on the U.S. military bases in the Philippines could be delayed until October or after the U.S. presidential elections in November, official sources said here Wednesday.

Negotiations on compensation and terms governing Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base after current leases expire in 1990 and 1991, were recessed on August 17 after both sides failed to reach a compromise.

The talks were due to resume in September, but the Philippine panel chief, Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus, is scheduled to leave for a three-week visit to the United States on September 11 to attend U.N. General Assembly sessions, aides said.

The aides said the bases talks could resume in October at the earliest or could be put off until after the U.S. polls.

U.S. panel chief Ambassador Nicholas Platt was scheduled to return here from the United States on September 10, a U.S. embassy spokesman said.

The talks cannot resume unless both panel heads are present.

"The United States has consistently preferred to negotiate as early as possible," embassy spokesman Gerry Huchel said, dismissing press reports that Washington wanted to wait until after the November polls.

The main obstacle in the talks is Manila's demand for higher compensation, which informed sources placed at 1.2 billion dollars a year in cash, arms, commodities and debt relief.

Washington has offered only 540 million dollars, or triple the 180 million dollars it is committed to pay from 1985 to 1989, the sources said.

Diplomats here said that before formal bases talks resume here, informal discussions on how to break the deadlock on compensation and other sensitive issues could take place in the United States.

Press reports here said Mr. Manglapus may meet with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz at the United Nations but this could not be officially confirmed.

U.S. officials say a change in administration in Washington would have no telling effect on the bases talks since both the Republicans and Democrats agree on the need to keep Clark and Subic, the largest U.S. military facilities overseas.

Pressure has been rising for the removal of the bases in this former U.S. colony but opinion surveys have consistently shown that Filipino voters would vote in favour of keeping Clark and Subic if the issue was submitted to a national referendum.

The presidential palace Monday released survey results showing that 80 per cent of respondents wanted the bases to stay, against eight per cent who want them removed. The rest of the 2,000 respondents had no comment.

**'Backchannel Diplomacy' With Malaysia Proposed**  
*HK3108053188 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY GLOBE in English 31 Aug 88 pp 1, 6*

[Text] Officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs [DFA] are urging the government to restore the use of "backchannel diplomacy" to stop the further deterioration of the country's relations with Malaysia.

The government used backchannel diplomacy in relations with Malaysia from 1981 to 1986 and effectively prevented the eruption of diplomatic problems similar to the case of the 49 Filipino fishermen who were arrested by the Malaysians in April, DFA officials said.

Through backchannel diplomacy, the Philippines and Malaysia maintained links through officials accountable only to the highest officials of the two countries.

Both countries had been able to solve problems arising from the Philippines' claim to Sabah, and their overlapping claims on territorial waters in the South China Sea, the officials said.

Also through the informal system, trade between the two countries flourished, with Malaysia becoming the third biggest trading partner of the Philippines, the officials, who refused to be identified, said.

The officials revealed that the backchannel diplomacy system was recommended to former President Marcos by then Trade and Industry Minister Roberto Ongpin.

Ongpin, according to sources in the Asia-Pacific Division of the DFA, was a close personal friend of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed, who assumed office in 1981.

Marcos approved the Ongpin plan and appointed Ambassador Pacifico Castro as the liaison man for the Philippines.

Mahathir, in turn, appointed Zainal Abidin to liaise with Castro.

Castro, when sought for comment yesterday, would not say whether backchannel diplomacy is needed today, but asserted that the "idea definitely worked at that time."

Other DFA officials, however, are set to propose the backchannel diplomacy system during the next meeting of the interagency group brainstorming on policies toward Malaysia and the Spratly question.

**Aquino's Speech on Arrival From Brunei**  
*HK3108043788 Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog 0341 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Speech by President Aquino at Villamor Air Base on return from Brunei—slantlines denote passages in English]

[Text] /Honorable Diosdado Macapagal, Senate President Jovito Salonga, Speaker Ramon Mitra, Chief Justice Marcelo Fernan, His Excellency Bruno Torpigliani, Mr Awang Jaya), fellow workers in government,/ beloved countrymen:

/At the invitation of His Majesty Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah [words indistinct], Sultan and Yang di Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam, we paid a state visit to Brunei Darussalam from 29 to 31 August 1988. As I stated when we started this trip, this visit was a continuation of my goodwill visits to our ASEAN neighbors which I started with my visits to Indonesia and Singapore in August 1986. My delegation and I were received very warmly by His Majesty the Sultan and Yang di Pertuan and the people of Brunei Darussalam. In my meeting with His Majesty the Sultan, I sought the support of His Majesty for the [words indistinct] Philippine aid plan. In the spirit of true friendship, we were glad to see the sultan assure us of his support and participation in the Philippine aid plan. Brunei Darussalam will be a member of the Philippine aid plan preparatory committee. [applause] His majesty the sultan and I also agreed to encourage joint efforts to facilitate greater interaction and cooperation between the two countries in bilateral trade, investments, communications, shipping, and construction.

/During our visit, I had the opportunity to meet with the Brunei National Chamber of Commerce and Industry. I extended our invitation to them to take advantage of the investment opportunities in the Philippines. I also had the occasion to meet with our countrymen who have found employment in Brunei Darussalam. Meeting our countrymen who work abroad is always an inspiring experience. In response to their requests, I have instructed Secretary Drilon to send a welfare officer

there next month to assist in the establishment of a welfare center to look after the needs of our Filipino workers in Brunei Darussalam.

/As I return from a fruitful state visit to Brunei Darussalam, I wish to thank our people for their prayers and support during our absence. I am very happy to be home. Thank you and good day./

**INQUIRER Editorial Hails Aquino's Brunei Trip**  
*HK3108054588 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY*  
*INQUIRER in English 31 Aug 88 p 4*

[Editorial: "Brunei Trip Boosts Good Neighbor Policy"]

[Text] Today, President Aquino returns from her three-day state visit to Brunei Darussalam, her sixth overseas trip in 29 months.

Recent political events which had overtaken press and public attention reduced the preliminary coverage of the visit to perfunctory reports. Malacanang itself announced few details of the visit and only on the eve of the President's departure.

According to reports, the Brunei government had expressed preference for limited coverage by Philippine private media. Official schedules were closed to nongovernment reporters and only the Malacanang media team was accredited for the events in the Istana, the famed and fabulous palace where the President and the Sultan held their talks.

The access allowed the media who accompanied the Marcos party in 1984 was different. And one cannot but wonder if there is more to the shift in Brunei's practice than meets the eye. The limited coverage of the trip, however, should not diminish the public consideration of the values of the visit.

President Aquino has always gained enormous mileage for her office and for the country from all her international visits. This one serves to mute the troubling sounds being made by opposition leaders and even renegade military figures, with the simple projection of her presidency on foreign soil. Whatever her detractors may say, no one else can claim the international recognition of national leadership as an advantage.

Brunei is a relatively young country, its independence proclaimed only on Dec. 31, 1983, when the British relinquished their last remaining responsibilities for defense and foreign affairs. Thus, Brunei joined the ASEAN only in 1984. Its oil-based wealth, however, projects the country as the richest in the region in her capita income terms. Brunei obviously wishes to consolidate relations with its neighbors and to strengthen relations with its ASEAN partners.

At the same time, the country seeks to diversify its economy and develop its manpower resources. The offer of Philippine technical assistance is on the agenda for agreements to be made during the visit.

For their part Philippine officials look forward to improved trade, direct shipping services, among other gains. President Aquino seeks reassurance of Brunei's support of Philippine efforts to block the MNLF's bid for regular membership in the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

To President Aquino, who is scheduled to be back today, welcome home and congratulations on the fruitful trip. The visit should go a long way in enhancing and safeguarding the mutually beneficial relationship of the two ASEAN neighbors.

**Columnist on 'Aquino-Marcos Return Bout'**  
*HK2608062388 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY*  
*INQUIRER in English 26 Aug 88 p 4*

[From "Postscript" column by Federico D. Pacual Jr.: "Aquino-Marcos Return Bout?"]

[Text] What's this shaping up, a return bout?

Ferdinand Marcos is pressing his immediate return, even giving the Sandiganbayan a deadline of three days to grant him permission. And he might just get it.

Cory Aquino, meanwhile, interposes no objection. If the court says it's okay, Cory says simply, then let him in.

What's going on?

Many people are jittery. Can't Cory see the gaping trap set before her, they ask. These are mostly concerned citizens who still see Marcos with his millions and minions, not to mention his legendary capacity for unmitigated mischief, as the greatest threat to Cory and, more so, to the peace and stability of his long-suffering nation.

The sly Marcos earlier said he just wanted (1) to bury his mother, who died more than three months ago without knowing that her favorite son Andy had fled Malacanang, and (2) to save the Philippines from the communists. The second intention, of course, is as ludicrous as the first one is macabre.

Some strange twists in a graft investigation at the Sandiganbayan have just given Marcos additional reasons why he should come back. He is now invoking the right to confront his accusers and defend himself in court—the same right he had denied a number of his political enemies during his regime.



The anomaly is that until now no criminal charge has been filed in court against Marcos. So against what does he want to defend himself? Yet the Sandiganbayan may just grant him his wish to come home as an act of self-defense—with the kind permission of Cory to boot.

There's something fishy going on, and we're not referring to Cory's order to go for the big fish.

Filipinos who had suffered through the nightmare of Marcos rule are now being haunted by a frightening flashback. They also see Marcos riding on the crest of a well-scripted here's homecoming and an emotion packed interment of a dead mother later on with him emerging as the rallying figure for anti-Cory forces spoiling for a return bout.

With his bulging war chest and his cunning, plus the added benefit of political hindsight, Marcos could run circles around Cory and devour the political neophyte despite his state of, huh, unhealth.

...Unless the U.S. decides it is to its higher interest to side with Cory after removing Marcos from the U.S. where he could hurt the Republican presidential bet with some indiscreet disclosures involving some delicate deals.

But if Cory had decided to play along with the U.S., on the bases question for example, Marcos could be consigned to the past or reduced to a mere pest. Then his only role in the U.S. scenario would be to provide a certain level of sniping to keep Cory forever off-balance, and therefore easier to manipulate.

...Or unless, unknown to us mortals, there has been forged in heaven a divine contract for a repentant (?) Marcos to come home in return for the Aquino Administration's recovering a sizeable chunk of his loot.

How do we know that after Marcos' return, we might suddenly hear an announcement of the discovery of some gold hoard or the recovery of some billions stashed away in a foreign secret account of Marcos.

These scenarios are pure speculation, mind you, because Malacanang has not deigned to share with the people enough information (on Marcos' bid to return) to help us understand what's going on.

It is obvious that allowing Marcos to return is more than a legal question. It should, therefore, not be left to lawyers and judges to decide. For a change, maybe Malacanang should try finding out what people think. For once, maybe the President can lend an ear to a piece of unsolicited advice from the people.

**Paper Criticizes Aquino's Stand on Marcos Issue**  
*HK2908060488 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY GLOBE in English 29 Aug 88 p 4*

["Editorial" column: "The Government Must Make Its Stand"]

[Text] There is much uncertainty and anxiety today about the possible return of former President Marcos because the government has not laid the case one way or the other for a policy it is prepared to sponsor and defend. Instead, it has groped and waffled—and this has been heard throughout the land all the way to the stock exchanges where prices plummeted largely because of jitters.

Saying that the issue is up to the courts to decide, which was the initial tack followed by President Aquino, was neither truthful nor reassuring. It's not truthful because what the courts decide, as in the past, will not count one whit once the government or the military is convinced that Mr. Marcos's return would be disruptive or destabilizing.

It's not reassuring either because it shifts to lower officials the burden of resolving a patently critical issue that involves not alone the letter of the law but the very fabric of political stability. The passing of the buck was written over Mrs. Aquino's lame and conditional statement.

As a result of the waffling at the top, lower officials have all taken turns giving their two cents' worth on the issue. The national security adviser, who has not spoken on security matters for ages, weighed in with an opinion. And nearly everyone has followed with only their noses to lead them—some vigorously against allowing Mr. Marcos to return at this time, others in favor of finally recognizing the man's right to return home and defend himself against charges.

But all these opinions are exactly worth that much: two cents each. They tell the public nothing as to what policy to really pursue.

It's a sound principle of presidential leadership that in consulting colleagues in the Cabinet, Congress and the Judiciary on a critical issue, the President should not do so in the open, because the whole process can get out of control and entrap the President's ability to decide. This is precisely what President Aquino has been careless with here. Again, she has subjected decision-making to an open-ended debate within her administration that has only served to show how greatly opinion apparently divides.

But it could be that this is that President Aquino is precisely trying to do: show the world and especially the United States that public opinion divides so sharply on the issue of Mr. Marcos's return that disaster could be the only result.

We may surmise from the confused situation that has developed that the President is in a real quandary on this one. If we may join in the speculations, the whole issue has nothing to do with criminal charges against Mr. Marcos in court (the government can simply wait longer to file them, even if it means that the Swiss won't release the bank loot), but with a probable U.S. decision not to play jailor any longer to Mr. Marcos because of the forth-coming presidential elections there. And it may be, too, that there is a rising feeling in the international community that it's about time the man gets his day in court and about time that Mrs. Aquino puts the stability and strength of her government to a test.

Yet, whatever the pressures from without or from within, the issue must be faced fundamentally on the basis of whether the nation will gain or lose in the process. All other considerations take second place to the key question of political stability and security.

The way things are shaping up, on one in government seems to believe very much that it can stand up to the strains on our public life that a Marcos homecoming could incite. It showed in the faces of nearly everyone who attended the Malacanang meeting last Friday.

It may not look good for the government to look afraid before a man it has branded a has been in our political life; but if this is whether the policy is tending, it's better to cut the crap now, rather than later.

**Aquino Pushed for 'Stand' on Marcos Return**  
*BK2808114188 Hong Kong AFP in English 1119 GMT 28 Aug 88*

[Text] Manila, Aug 28 (AFP)—Newspapers here Sunday pressed the government of President Corazon Aquino for a definite stand on whether her deposed predecessor Ferdinand Marcos would be allowed to return from exile in Hawaii.

The JOURNAL newspaper editorial said Mr. Marcos's return has serious ramifications on the government and the entire nation, and "the only question that should be asked is, will allowing the former president to return be in the people's interest?"

The DAILY GLOBE, an independent daily said that "the government must make its stand." It said the administration seemed afraid it could not handle unrest caused by Mr. Marcos's return but would not admit that.

"If this is where the policy is tending, it's better to cut the crap now, rather than later," the editorial said.

Newspaper columnists also speculated that the alleged confusion in Manila over Mr. Marcos may be a result of Washington pressuring them to get the ex-president out of U.S. territory allegedly because he could embarrass the presidential campaign of U.S. Vice-President George Bush.

Press reports here allege that Mr. Marcos may reveal that he contributed large amounts of money to Republican coffers for the election campaigns of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mr. Bush in 1980.

Speculation of the possible return of Mr. Marcos was ignited last week when a special anti-graft court hinted it may summon him to face charges of stealing billions of dollars from the government.

The court later said one of its orders had been misinterpreted but Mr. Marcos used it as an opportunity to issue a statement asking the court to allow his return to answer the charges.

Mrs. Aquino said she would abide by any court decision but government lawyers later said they would take steps to block Mr. Marcos's petition to return.

Although the government has dismissed Marcos supporters as a spent force, fears that his return might spark unrest caused a four-day slump in the stock market.

Mr. Marcos fled to Hawaii after being toppled in a popular revolt that installed Mrs. Aquino.

Mrs. Aquino had originally said she would not allow his return but may be forced to allow him back to face numerous criminal charges for graft and corruption that her administration plans to file against him.

**Maceda Rejects Invitation To Join Opposition**  
*HK3108055188 Manila BUSINESS WORLD in English 31 Aug 88 p 8*

[Text] Sen. Ernesto Maceda was invited to join the new Enrile-Laurel merger, but preferred to remain an independent member of the Senate, opposition sources told BUSINESS WORLD yesterday.

This was confirmed when former parliamentarian Homobono Adaza publicly invited Sen. Maceda to join UNA (Union for National Action) in a public forum at the Philippine Plaza.

In an interview with BUSINESS WORLD, Sen. Maceda said he has no reason to join any political party—be it the opposition or the administration—because further political realignments are bound to occur before 1992.

Sen. Maceda said he believes a multi-party system can only be possible in the next presidential elections if Mrs. Aquino decides not to run.

He said should the President decide to run for reelection in 1992, the opposition will have no alternative but to band together, hence a two-party system will prevail.

Mr. Maceda explained that aside from President Aquino, the most probable presidential candidates are Defense Secretary Fidel V. Ramos and House Speaker Ramon Mitra.

Mr. Maceda neither confirmed nor denied that he would run for the presidency in 1992, saying that to discuss that would be premature.

He said most people perceived to have-presidential ambitions are suffering from health problems, and most so-called presidential timbers are over 60 years old and may not be fit for the job.

The senator also said that he does not discount the possibility of himself having to face sudden health problems, and 1992 is too far away to discuss.

Sen. Maceda told BUSINESS WORLD he has no reason to join the opposition but predicted that while in 1986 the issue was sincerity and honesty in government the next presidential elections will be based on the completeness and experience of the candidates.

Mr. Maceda predicted that if Mrs. Aquino decides not to run, a multi-party system may emerge with five to seven presidential candidates vying for the national leadership.

**Discontent Found Among Armed Forces**  
HK3008144188 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE  
in English 28 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

[By staff member Manny Mogato]

[Text] Two weeks ago, some 20 young junior officers met secretly outside a military camp in Metro Manila to assess the state of government and military leadership.

The group, claiming to be nonpartisan and independent from various factions in the military organization, reached a conclusion: the government and the military leadership had remained incompetent and corrupt.

The group went on to exchange ideas on how to bring about "good government" and reform what they considered decadent institutions.

"No, we were not planning a coup," says an Army junior officer who claimed to have attended the meeting. "Not at the moment, we believe. But there is a greater perception within the group that something must be done now. We don't want things changed drastically and radically."

Grumbings and secret meetings among military personnel continue even after the failed Aug. 28, 1987 coup (exactly a year ago), indicating that the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] leadership has not completed its goal of unifying the military organization.

While military observers and critics note that the division within the Armed Forces seems to be growing and widening, military officials dismiss it as another "disinformation drive."

Col. Oscar Florendo, the Armed Forces spokesman, admits that the AFP is, indeed, saddled with dissensions.

"No large organization is perfect, there would always be dissension. But in the military, everybody obeys and follows an order, even if he doesn't want to," he says.

Florendo adds that the military leadership is trying its best to unite the Armed Forces, look after the soldiers' welfare, and strengthen the organization to enable it to fight the enemies of the state.

He blames the officers who are under the influence of politicians for driving the AFP and trying to pull it down.

Florendo claims that the military is better off today than before the Aug. 28 coup, or even before the Edsa revolution in 1986. "At least, we know now who are not with us," he says.

He notes that factionalism in the Armed Forces was wider and more serious during the Marcos regime. There were also grumbings then, but most of the officers who complained chose to remain silent, he adds.

"Pakiramdaman lang noon [Before, the sentiments were subdued]," he says. "Kaya nang sumabog ay malaki dahil lahat pala ng sama ng loob ay nasa loob. Matagal na palang kumukulo kaya nang pumutok, malakas pa sa bulkan. [There was a big explosion when things were brought to the open. They have been harboring all the bad feelings which had been there for a long time. The explosion was even stronger than a volcanic explosion.]" He justifies that the present military leadership has to be tough against recalcitrants and other renegade personnel. Unless the rank and file is purged, the Armed Forces will remain weak because of continued attacks from within, he says.

Reconciling with officers and men who had joined former Army Lt. Col. Gregorio Honasan in the attempt to topple the government a year ago would be "very hard unless they face the military courts first," he points out.

Getting separated from the service, wasting a bright military career and getting jailed, Florendo says, were all part of the risks the coup participants took when they fought government last year.

By Aug. 15 this year, the military had completed the investigations of 1,859 military officers and men who had joined the Honasan coup.



More than half of them or 1,367 have been cleared of liability after undergoing months of investigation and detention aboard Navy ships and in military stockades in various military camps in Metro Manila, Pampanga, Cebu City and Legaspi City.

A total of 249 officers and men, including three senior generals, have been punished under the military's Articles of War 105 for their failure to suppress the incidents.

Three hundred twenty others, including two generals, are still facing court-martial proceedings for direct participation in destabilization acts at Malacanang, Camp Aguinaldo, Camelot Hotel, Villamor Air Base and at the Broadcast City facilities in Quezon City.

At least four general courtsmartial have started hearings while six others are about to start proceedings. Of the 320 accused, only 15 officers remain at large. They had been summarily separated from the service under Articles of War 117.

They are Navy Capt. Felix Turingan, Army Lt. Col. Gregorio Honasan, Army Lt. Col. Victor Erfe, Air Force Lt. Cols. Oscar Legaspi and Dante Bernarte, Maj. Allen Queruben, Maj. Francisco Baula, Navy Lt. Cmdr. Jaime Lucas, Capt. Cristopher Mesias, Lt. Col. Eduardo Matillano and five other junior officers.

Senior officers of the disbanded Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), however, do not regret what they did a year ago. "If Honasan will have to face the court this year, he could have proven himself innocent and explained why he did those things," a senior RAM officer says.

"If you will look at the front pages of the newspapers every day, what you will see are charges of graft and corruption against the Government, bickerings among government officials, and nothing is being done. Not a single official had been convicted for graft and corruption despite numerous exposes by people who are also in Government," explains the RAM officer.

"From January till now, what you read is a chronicle of incompetence and corruption of the Government," he adds.

Mrs Aquino, he recalls asked them two years ago what they wanted after she was installed President.

Aquino reportedly talked with then National Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to ask the RAM boys what they wanted.

Enrile then talked with RAM leader, the late Air Force Col. Tirso Gador, on Aquino's suggestion. Gador reportedly told Enrile that the RAM boys were not asking for any favor, except good government.

"Huwag na sanang maulit ang ginawa ng mga Marcos," [We hope that the things that Marcos did will never be repeated] Gador was quoted as saying.

"We feel betrayed," another RAM leader says. "We did not see any improvement during her Administration. It was even worse."

One of the more vocal RAM leaders, Navy Capt. Rex Robles, says the fight is now being carried on by Honasan and his RAM boys. He says a number of young junior officers influenced by Honasan "had already taken the initiative."

He describes the new group of officers as "deliberate and cautious," studying ways to restructure government and introduce reforms and good government.

He says that as long as the Government and the military are perceived to be corrupt and weak, there will always be ambitious and young leaders who will seek to give direction to the Government.

But he believes that the leaders of the new group do not intend to have a confrontation with the Government. "There are other ways. They have their own means to bring in reforms."

**Ramos Says Insurgency, Economy Biggest Threats**  
*HK3008065388 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE*  
*in English 30 Aug 88 p 7*

[Text] Defense Secretary Fidel V. Ramos yesterday belittled the threat posed by renegade soldiers to the country's security, saying that the communist insurgency and the economy remain as the biggest problems of the Government.

Ramos told the Management Association of the Philippines that on a scale of 1 to 10, the military and defense establishments rank the insurgency and the economic problem on top with 10 points.

"The CPP (Communist Party of the Philippines) is still the single, most potent threat to our security," Ramos said.

The Muslim secessionist movement, meanwhile, got 8 points, while "street crimes and the proliferation of firearms were credited with 7 points.

The defense chief said "various destabilizing groups consisting of military renegades got only 2 points."

Ramos pointed out that among these problems, insurgency "has spillovers on all the other threats in the sense that your law enforcement agencies, your defense organization must deal with all the other problems simultaneously with that of the communist insurgency."

He said, however, that at this time, the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] and defense establishment are "fully capable" of attending to the threats provided that they continue to have the support of the officials and the public.

Ramos also squelched predictions of some politicians that "we are about to go under in this country."

"While we have not yet won the war, we are indeed winning...and while we are still very far from attaining our objective, we could make very well a favorable forecast for 1988 and the years ahead," Ramos said.

**Marcos Loyalist Commandos Uncovered**  
*HK3108042188 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] A military operative yesterday [31 August] uncovered the existence of a new rightist commando strike force organized to destabilize the Aquino government. NCRDC [National Capital Regional Defense Command] Chief of Staff Colonel Guillermo Ruiz said forces loyal to the deposed president have dubbed the commando unit as Marcos' Army Lost Command, or Malcom. Ruiz described the group as apart from the Black Forest Commandos, although both seem to operate under the umbrella of the Nationalist Army of the Philippines led by renegade soldier Reynaldo Cabautan.

**Military Arrests 9 Renegade Soldiers, 2 Others**  
*HK3008071188 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY GLOBE in English 30 Aug 88 pp 1, 6*

[By staff writer Dionisio Pelayo]

[Text] Government forces arrested nine renegade soldiers and two military right-wingers in a series of raids over the weekend.

National Capital Region Defense Command chief Brig. Gen. Rodolfo Biazon said his troops nabbed nine followers of discharged Brig. Gen. Jose Ms. Carlos Zumel in Balayan, Batangas, Kalookan City and Antipolo, Rizal.

PC Capital Regional Command [CAPCOM] operatives and policemen also arrested two soldiers, members of a right-wing extremist fraternity, who were found to be absent without leave (AWOL) in Tondo, Manila.

Biazon declined to identify the renegades, saying that they were still under investigation.

Biazon also refused to say if there were any firearms taken from the nine, saying revelation of the information "may jeopardize on-going operations."

Meanwhile, the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] chief of intelligence, Brig. Gen. Galiloo Kintanar, said the threat posed by armed right-wing extremists, including the group of discharged Army Lt. Col. Gregorio Honasan, is more immediate than the one posed by communist rebels.

Kintanar made the statement during a budgetary hearing set by the House defense committee headed by Rep. Jose Yap (Laban, Tarlac).

"The communist rebels are not an immediate threat at the moment as compared with Honasan's faction," Kintanar said.

The right-wing extremists, Kintanar said, pose an immediate threat because their timetable is to seize power in a short time while the communists have a long-term program of action.

Both communists and rightwingers, Kintanar said, are capable of conducting terrorist operations.

Unlike the right-wingers, Kintanar said, the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines] has set a six-year period within which to cease [word as published] control of the government. The plan ends in 1992.

The CPP six-year plan, Kintanar said, was discovered in documents captured from recently arrested communist leaders.

"But we do not believe them. They do not have the capability to overthrow the present administration," Kintanar said.

Biazon said that right-wing forces and communist rebels "combined" do not have the capability of defeating the AFP.

Reacting to Honasan's call for the soldiers to install non-traditional political leaders to power, Biazon said "that statement will only lead to the rejection by the people of what his group represents."

"We can not allow another armed group to impose its idea on our people," Biazon stressed.

Meanwhile, two soldiers, believed to be member of the banned military fraternity "Guardians Brotherhood," were arrested Sunday night when elements of the Capcom and Manila police raided their safehouse in Tondo.

Arrested were Privates Tranquilino Vuelga, formerly attached with the Navy; and Rizal Catalogo, a former Military Policeman attached with the Marines. The raiding team was led by Lt. Col. Romeo Maganto, commander of the Western Police District's (WPD) Station 1 in Tondo, and Lt. Ramon Dolor of the Capcom.

According to Maganto, they had received a tip from an informant that the house was being used by renegade soldiers as a safehouse. Police and Capcom elements, he said, then placed the house on a round-the-clock surveillance for the weeks. He added the two have been listed in the Armed Forces Roster as being AWOL for the past few months.

**Military Denies Capture of Renegade General**  
*HK3108122388 Quezon City Sports Radio 738*  
*in English 1100 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] Renegade General Jose Maria Zumel has not yet been captured. This was confirmed this morning by top military officials.

Gen Galileo Kintanar, Armed Forces deputy chief of staff for intelligence, said both the Constabulary and the National Capital Region Defense Command have denied the report. Kintanar explained that the two military units are the only ones who would have a possible operation for the capture of rightist and leftist leaders in Metro Manila. The general stressed that this latest rumour could be part of the ultra-rightist propaganda to confuse the public.

**Seven Groups Tagged as Communist Fronts**  
*HK3108053088 Manila MANILA BULLETIN*  
*in English 31 Aug 88 pp 1, 21*

[By Tony Antonio]

[Text] Seven militant groups were tagged yesterday as front organizations of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

In a briefing by the military for publishers and editors in Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City, a video tape played showed former CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison speaking before an audience in Brussels, Belgium.

In his speech, Sison identified the seven groups linked as fronts of the CPP as the Gabriela, League of Filipino Students (LFS), Bayan, [Bagong Alyansang Makabayan—New People's Alliance] Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) [1 May Movement], Association of Concerned Teachers (ACT), Kilusang Magbubukid sa Pilipinas (KMP), [Peasants Movement of the Philippines] and Kadena [Kabataan Para Sa Demokrasya At Nasyonalismo—youth for democracy and nationalism].

The military said Sison delivered the speech on March 4, 1987, as part of a fund raising drive for the CPP.

Brig. Gen. Romulo Kintanar, chief of AFP [Peasants Movement of the Philippines] intelligence, said that intelligence reports indicate that Sison has been designated CPP chairman in absentia. This position, Kintanar said, has boosted Sison's image as a fund-raiser.

Kintanar said that the military has also received intelligence reports indicating that Sison has been appointed chairman of the executive committee of the CPP's central committee.

He said, however, that Benito tiamzon is discharging the functions of CPP chairman and that "he has been calling the shots."

Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos said that based on these intelligence reports, the Department of National Defense (DND) has recommended the cancellation of Sison's passport. He added that the military believes that Sison "has transgressed" the terms and conditions of his passport.

Kintanar said that the setup of the CPP leadership is "very much temporary," quoting a certain "Ka Rolly."

The CPP has yet to hold a congress in which the various top positions of the party will be filled up, he said.

Gen. Renato de Villa, AFP chief of staff noted, however, that despite the leadership struggle in the party, the CPP "continues to move."

He observed that the party operates under a collective leadership and when some to pleaders are captured or killed the alternates or "second-liners" take their place.

Asked if the military does not regret releasing Sison and other CPP leaders, Ramos said that the military had objected to their release, but it was overruled.

Ramos stressed that the "bottom line" in the fight against insurgency is not the number of rebels killed but the number of barangays recovered from the influence of the New People's Army (NPA), the CPP's military arm.

He said that the military, through the special operations team (SOT) strategy, has been winning more and more NPA-influenced, barangays to the government side.

He said that the military intends "to clear 7,800 barangays" of NPA influence in three years. He added that the task-calls for the military "to clear an NPA-influenced barangay, hold onto it, and develop it."

Ramos said that in the efforts to hold onto the "cleared barangay", there should be joint efforts by civilian and military authorities.

He said that there is also an urgent need to form "Bantay Bayan" groups in villages which have proved effective in protecting the barangays from the NPA.

On the comment that the AFP-NPA kill ratio of 2:1 (in favor of the AFP) is not so good, De Villa said that the ratio could be higher, noting the practice of NPA rebels to bring the bodies of their companions in their escape or retreat.



Ramos added that if the military is going to use "weapons of mass destruction" in the war, the ratio will be higher. He said this is not being done because "we are fighting our own people."

Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno, disputing reports on human rights violations committed by the military, revealed the results of a recent survey which indicated that the CPP-NPA is committing more human rights violations at a ratio of 3:1

He said that the same survey indicated that in terms of acceptability, the AFP is second place with the church as No. 1.

Benigno added that the popularity of the CPP, has gone down from 11 to four percent.

**Misuari Peace Talks Conditions Rejected**  
*HK3008064788 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE*  
*in English 30 Aug 88 pp 1, 7*

[Text] Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) Chairman Nur Misuari has set four conditions for the resumption of the stalled Mindanao peace talks but the government found them all "unacceptable," informed sources said yesterday.

In a memorandum to President Aquino dated Aug. 17, Jianil M. Dianalan, executive director of the Office of Muslim Affairs, said Misuari had "seriously considered" the resumption of the talks on condition that the:

—Venue be held either in Malaysia, Brunei or Saudi Arabia (all members of the influential Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC]).

—Talks be held under the auspices and supervision of the OIC through the Quadripartite Commission composed of Senegal, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Somalia.

—Reference point should be based on the Tripoli Agreement.

—Group representing the Government must have authority to negotiate.

Sources said Dianalan met with Misuari twice—in the cities of Arafat and Mina in Makkah, Saudi Arabia earlier this month.

In this memorandum, Dianalan also reported that Misuari had warned that the MNLF would renew hostilities in Mindanao "on or before the end of this month (August)."

Misuari's stand coincided with that of MNLF spiritual adviser Ustadz Zain Jali who said over the weekend that MNLF forces have been massing in Maimbung, Sulu in preparation for a possible outbreak of war.

Jali returned last week from Jeddah and announced that Misuari, who is now in Tripoli, is returning next month to form a provisional government either in Zamboanga or in Davao City.

Foreign affairs officials, however, belittled Misuari's warning, saying he "had issued many statements (in the past) which proved to be mere utterances."

A Muslim expert at the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) said the MNLF had threatened to go to war since the talks bogged down in May last year "but nothing has come of it."

The officials, who requested anonymity, also said that while the government would not prevent Misuari from returning home they were not inclined to believe that he would come back in September.

The officials also explained that unlike leaders of the underground Left who are abroad, Misuari will not be banned from entering the country since he is perceived by the military to be "less of a threat."

Misuari's threats "have been nothing but paper threats," the officials added.

Earlier, DFA sources said the government was amenable to the talks resumption provided that it be held in Manila and that the MNLF would not impose any preconditions.

The officials also doubted MNLF's capability to wage war or launch fresh offensives against the Armed Forces. They explained MNLF has "no base," except in Maimbung, Misuari's hometown.

The officials added that Muslim provinces are now governed by former MNLF commanders, which is why it would be "doubtful" for Muslims to join a war that may be declared by the MNLF.

The former MNLF commanders who are now governors, the officials said, include Jerry Salippudin of Basilan, Gerry Matbag of Tawitawi, Tupay Loong of Sulu, Zacarias Candao of Maguindanao and Pangarungan Saiddamen of Lanao del Sur.

**MNLF Unconvinced by Aquino**  
*HK3108080988 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog*  
*0700 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] Several MNLF groups have reportedly, no intention to surrender to the government because they allegedly remain unconvinced by the Aquino government's position over the fate of the Filipino Muslims. Edwin Fernandez of DXMS, Cotabato City has more details:

[Begin recording] The MNLF in Lanao del Norte were allegedly dissatisfied with the present government administration preventing them from returning to the fold of law. This was stated by Commander Solitario of the MNLF's Lanao Del Norte Revolutionary Committee when he was persuaded to surrender by Task Force Diamond Commander Colonel Eduardo Resos during their secret meeting in an undisclosed place in Lanao Del Norte.

Commander Solitario told Commander Resos that he was not happy with how the Aquino government dealt with the Muslims in Mindanao. In his appearance before newsmen yesterday, Commander Solitario denied recent military reports claiming that the MNLF and other communist rebel groups in the province have agreed to a tie-up [as heard]. He admitted, however, that his group met with a communist rebel group but no agreement was reached.

As a result, Commanders Solitario and Resos forged a truce until the end of the year at which time peace talks will have been set for the resolution of the Mindanao problem.

The MNLF in Lanao del Sur were conducting recruitment and training activities in all the province's towns. Colonel Resos said that most of the trainees originated from Sulu, believed to be an MNLF strong-hold.

When Commander Solitario was asked whether Misuari had given them instructions to launch attacks in the event that he comes home, he said that they were not given specific instruction by Misuari to fight with the government unless they were attacked by the military. [end recording]

### **Thailand**

**Amnesty Bill Approved for 1985 Coup Plot**  
*BK3108003588 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English*  
31 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] The Cabinet yesterday approved the amnesty bill for the alleged plotters of the failed September 9 [1985] coup attempt, citing the government's policy to promote national unity and the auspicious occasion of His Majesty becoming the longest-reigning monarch.

The amnesty will cover five retired senior army officers who are being tried in court on coup charges and the two fugitive brothers, Col Manun and Wing Commander Manat Rupkhachon.

On trial are Gen [General] Soem Na Nakhon, Gen Kriangsak Chamanan, Gen Yot Thephatsadin Na Ayut-thaya, Air Chief Marshal Arun Phromthep and Air Chief Marshal Krasae Intharat.

The trial was proposed to the Cabinet yesterday by Democrat Party secretary-general Lt-Col [Lieutenant Colonel] Sanan Khachonprasat who reportedly reasoned that the previous bill—approved by the last government—did not cover the two Rupkhachon brothers.

Sanan's view received support from several ministers, including PM's [Prime Minister's] Office Minister Chaloeam Yubamrung. None voiced opposition against the bill while Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan adopted a neutral stand.

Asked about the amnesty, Army Assistant Commander-in-Chief Gen Phichit Kunlawanit said he had no comment, saying that good government officials should obey the government's order.

**Cabinet Approves Plan To Save Military Agency**  
*BK3108020788 Bangkok THE NATION in English*  
31 Aug 88 p 1

[Text] The Chatchai Cabinet sprang its first surprise yesterday by approving a plan to save the Defence Ministry's Preserved Food Organization [PFO] from bankruptcy—practically scrapping the Prem Administration's plan to sell the debt-plagued state enterprise, informed sources told THE NATION.

The PFO renewed its proposal for a loan of [baht] 160 million from Krung Thai Bank to repay its debts, the sources said.

The request was brought up by Finance Minister Pra-muan Saphawasu, who asked whether the Cabinet wanted the ministry to guarantee the loan deal.

The Cabinet approved the request without debate.

The previous Prem Cabinet had shelved the request by PFO to secure the loan from the state-owned commercial bank and instead set September 1 as the deadline to privatize it or liquidate its assets if the private sector was not interested in operating the business.

At the same Cabinet meeting, the caretaker government had set October 1 as the deadline for the Textile Organization, another financially troubled Defence Ministry enterprise, to improve its performance or face privatization.

The caretaker government reasoned that the two state enterprises had been operating in the red and the government was being burdened by increasing debts. The Prem Administration also believed that the private sector is more competitive in those areas.

The Prem Administration originally set early August as the date for an open bid for the privatization of PFO, but it was postponed to August 24. However, former Defence Minister ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Phaniang Kantarat failed to sign the order calling the bid, in part because he wanted to pass the issue to the new Cabinet.

The Prem Cabinet had approved the plan to sell the two state enterprises in the wake of a damaging rail strike which threatened to snowball into a general strike by state enterprise labour unions. One of the rail strikers' demands was for the government to scrap the privatization policy.

The caretaker government later decided to refer the demand to the elected government in a move to pacify the striking workers and defuse the potentially explosive labour unrest.

Informed sources said that Chatchai failed to sign the order to call for bidding after his assumption of office.

There was no official explanation why the Chatchai Cabinet reversed the Prem Administration's policy toward PFO.

#### **Overall Rice Exports To Exceed Earlier Forecast**

*BK3108010788 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 31 Aug 88 p 15*

[Text] Rice exports this month are expected to reach 500,000 tons—the highest monthly figure for the year.

At the same time, overall rice exports in 1988 are likely to exceed four million tons, much higher than the original target set early this year of 2.5 million tons.

Foreign Trade Department Deputy Director General Pracha Charutrakunchai said August 1-28 exports totalled 490,005 tons, of which 313,103 tons were exported by the private sector and the balance by the Government.

He said the volume during January-August was some 500,000 tons lower than the corresponding period last year, which saw more than three million tons rice exported.

Mr Pracha said he was confident that with another three days to go, this month's rice exports would top half a million tons, and he forecast that exports during September and October would average 400,000 tons a month. The last two months' figures are expected to average 300,000 tons.

When taking these figures into account, this year's overall exports are likely to exceed four million tons, about the same level registered last year, he said.

Mr Pracha noted, however, that the four-million-ton figure came as a big surprise as it was forecast earlier this year that 1988 rice exports would be around 2.5 million tons because of a severe drought.

Nevertheless, the figure was revised to 3.5 million tons mid-year as a result of the sharp increase in second crop rice production due mainly to price incentives which encouraged farmers to grow more rice.

In terms of values, Mr Pracha described this year's rice situation as very bright, saying export values are expected to be about 20 percent higher than the previous year because of rising prices on world markets.

He disclosed that several foreign governments are now rushing to buy Thai rice. Among them is India which is seeking a further 200,000 tons of 25 percent white rice in addition to the half a million tons now on order.

Moreover, private exporters recently clinched a contract to sell 180,000 tons of 100 percent second-grade white rice to Iran, which is gradually picking up deliveries.

Chaiyaphon Rice Co, another leading rice exporter, recently entered an agreement to sell 90,000 tons of 100 percent second-grade white rice to Iraq on 18-month credit terms at US \$305 a ton FOB [free on board]. Iraq recently despatched vessels to pick up the first shipment of 20,000 tons.

#### **Chatchai To Visit Malaysia Early September**

*BK3008094588 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0000 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] General Panya Singsakda, acting secretary general to the prime minister, reported that Prime Minister Major General Chatchai Chunhawan will visit Malaysia on 2-3 September for discussions with the Malaysian prime minister. He will be accompanied by a 12-man delegation. The prime minister also plans visits to other ASEAN and European countries. The visits will help strengthen relations between the new Thai Government and foreign countries.

Gen Panya Singsakda also reported progress in the plan to establish the National Operations Center saying selection of personnel is under way. The prime minister has set a 1-month deadline for this. He said that, at the preliminary stage, officials will mainly come from the Office of the Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office and other qualified sources. The equipment will be provided by the Prime Minister's Office, except for the computer system which will be donated. Gen Panya said he expected that the center will be fully equipped within 1 year after its establishment. He said that the service of the National Operations Center will not duplicate other agencies. On the other hand, the center will help improve coordination among the various government agencies.

#### **Indochina Policy Seen as Party-Based**

*BK3108015788 Bangkok THE NATION in English 31 Aug 88 p 8*

[Article by Kawi Chongkitthawon: "Indochina Policy: National Interest or Party Interests"]

[Text] The first round of the bout between national and party interests, as seen in the handling of Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's visit here, has ended. Apparently, party interests are taking precedence over the whole foreign policy strategy toward Indochina.



Like it or not, this trend is likely to develop, with the rift between the two becoming visible under the new government, and likely to continue as long as Thailand's stance on Indochina remains ambiguous and divisive.

Can anyone tell now who is actually in charge of the Indochina policy? Government House, or the Foreign Ministry or any of the government parties (most notably Chat Thai, Democrat and Social Action)?

If Thach's visit last week was any indication, competition and confrontation between Government House of Premier Chatchai Chunhawan and his ambitious policy advisory board, and the Saranrom Palace of Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila will be fierce.

As if that isn't enough, the Democrat Party will from time to time enter the ring to give the policy some twists and turns. For example, earlier this month Deputy Premier Phichai Rattakun, Democrat party leader, let it be known that he was very interested in visiting Hanoi again. Phichai, when he was foreign minister in the Seni administrations in 1975 and 1976, visited Hanoi to normalize relations with Vietnam.

Concerning the Thai-Vietnamese relations, both Chat Thai and the Democrats share similar views. Both want to speed up the normalization of relations and expand direct bilateral trade. In due time, their common position could constitute the driving force in seeking to limit the foreign policy influence of the Social Action, which is headed by Sitthi.

But trade opportunities in Vietnam have brought about the eagerness of all partners in the government. Unlike Prem, Chatchai wants to be an active premier on foreign policy. He believes that, after many years serving as Thai ambassador during the 1960's, he knows enough to handle foreign policy questions. His declaration on turning the battlefield of Indochina into a market for Thai exports was a shrewd and calculated statement, which immediately drew support from local businessmen and Indochinese countries.

While Chatchai appears bold, the Foreign Ministry is more cautious.

Having been foreign minister for the past eight years, Sitthi is confident in the direction of Thai foreign policy. He wants to give the policy some more time to mature, a stance that is often considered rigid and inflexible. His position remains somewhat unchanged that expansion of Thai-Vietnamese trade should come after a political settlement in Kampuchea.

Sitthi reiterated time and again that "timing" is very important in dealing with Vietnam concerning Kampuchea and trade.

The different policy approaches of Chatchai and Sitthi are not only a result of their personal perspectives but also of their parties' interests. For example, supporters of the core coalition partners—Chat Thai, Democrat and Social Action parties—have a direct interest in the fishing industry. A growing number of Thai trawler-owners want a deal with the Vietnamese to permit their trawlers to fish in Vietnamese waters.

Under the previous government, former premier Prem Tisulanon was adamant that the Kampuchean problem be dealt with first before serious talks on improvement of bilateral relations. Without any known business connections or interest in fisheries, Prem was able to adopt a lackadaisical attitude toward economic ties with Vietnam.

All that was changed overnight when Chatchai came to power, though the effects were less visible on Thailand's policy toward Kampuchea. Sitthi and his Social Action must comply with the prevailing policy winds advocated by Chatchai and others.

Interestingly, Sitthi, in his discussion with Thach last week, agreed to Thach's idea that both sides meet first to exchange views on Kampuchea before the meeting on October 17 of the working group set up in the Jakarta Informal Meeting to study the Kampuchean conflict.

All along, Thailand had avoided discussing the Kampuchean conflict bilaterally with Vietnam on grounds that it is not a direct party to the conflict. Sitthi's decision to accept Thach's proposal on a direct discussion on the Kampuchean question between Vietnam and Thai officials could be interpreted as a significant shift in Thailand's Indochina policy. It can be construed that Thailand no longer poses the settlement of Kampuchea as a precondition for talks with Vietnam on improvement of bilateral relations.

The Thai side is trying to play down the shift by viewing the proposed Thai-Vietnamese discussion on Kampuchea as a routine matter because the Vietnamese Ambassador to Thailand, Le Mai, will lead the Vietnamese team to the discussion. However, this bilateral forum could be seen as a desire by the Thai side to improve the bilateral ties, albeit the Kampuchean impasse. Moreover, it may signal Thailand's recognition that Thailand and Vietnam, when working together, could make a difference on the Kampuchean question. Insisting on a total Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea is not the only way of settling the Kampuchean question, after all.

This new situation will definitely accelerate improvement in Thai-Vietnamese relations, especially on trade. Without delay, Thach responded enthusiastically to Chatchai's call by offering to send a ministerial trade delegation to Thailand, which Chatchai agreed to immediately.

Thach also indicated that both countries should develop direct trade links to bypass third parties such as Singapore. With the Chatchai administration's blessing, government-to-government trade ties may develop and expand quickly.

But the question is whether Thailand is willing to abandon its political objectives and security interests in Kampuchea for the economic benefits from expanding trade with Vietnam.

Judging from the new government policy, in the short run the answer is "Yes" although not unequivocally. The new government is determined to go ahead with expanding trade in the hope of establishing a new rapport with Hanoi, which could influence events in Kampuchea positively. It would not be a surprise if there is a softening in the Thai position on Kampuchea as well.

For one thing, the PM's foreign policy advisory team sees a need for more flexibility in the Thai foreign policy toward Vietnam as well as other Indochinese states, given the current regional atmosphere and the brighter prospect for a Kampuchean settlement. But whether the Foreign Ministry will see the same need is not clear.

However, both the Foreign Ministry and the PM's [prime minister] advisory team believe that a long-term structure of Thai-Vietnamese relations must be established to remove mutual distrust and pave the way for future peaceful coexistence.

For the time being, it seems Hanoi can continue this piecemeal approach to strike deals with Thailand. There is no danger in such maneuvering if Hanoi thinks that this is the way to get out of Kampuchea and coexist with Thailand.

In the coming months a struggle may surface between Chatchai and Sitthi for initiatives on key foreign policy issues, specifically regarding Indochina, Thai-US relations (the copyright amendment), and Thai-Soviet relations. These are issues that can make or break Thai foreign policy because stark differences remained between various policy makers.

Gone are the days when Sitthi could formulate and implement foreign policy on his own and with colleagues who share similar thinking. Now Sitthi has Chatchai and the PM's policy advisory group to reckon with. Let everyone not know, Chatchai is going for broke. And government parties want to be heard on every foreign issue that they have some interest in. Thailand's foreign policy and relations, particularly with regards to Indochina, will not be the same anymore.

## Vietnam

**U.S. General, Thach Exchange Letters on MIA's**  
*BK3108011288 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese*  
2300 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] On 5 August 1988, General John Vessey, special envoy of the U.S. President, sent a letter to Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach pointing out that the statements made by U.S. officials in late July 1988 only reflect the U.S. administration's longstanding viewpoint on relations with Vietnam. The U.S. side pledged to continue implementation of the agreements reached between the two sides in August 1987 in Hanoi and in June 1988 in New York, as well as its efforts to respond to Vietnam's humanitarian concerns.

Gen John Vessey requested that the Vietnamese side resume bilateral meetings to resolve issues concerning American MIA's and to continue the settlement of outstanding points so as to reach an early agreement on allowing for the resettlement in the United States of those already freed from reeducation centers.

On 27 August, Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach sent a letter in reply to Gen Vessey. The letter reads in full as follows:

I have received your excellency's letter dated 5 August 1988. I share your concerns and worries, but I think that considering Vietnam's efforts to resolve American humanitarian issues, the United States' continuation of a hostile policy toward Vietnam does not contribute to creating a favorable atmosphere for relations between the two countries at this juncture.

On the other hand, the U.S. authorities' declaration that it will make the normalization of bilateral relations conditional upon the settlement of the MIA issue is at variance with the agreement between your excellency and myself.

As always, we hold that the settlement of humanitarian issues should be separated from political issues; and the best way is for both sides to shed an attitude of hostility and generate a favorable atmosphere for rapidly resolving these issues.

With the desire that the U.S. Government will adopt a suitable attitude and in response to your excellency's concerns, I would like to inform your excellency that the Vietnamese side agrees to let the U.S. side participate in joint investigation and survey activities as concerns the issue of American MIA's, and is prepared to hold meetings of specialists from the two sides to discuss specific plans from 9 to 12 September 1988.

In particular, regarding the resettlement of those freed from reeducation centers, I am of the opinion that due to major differences and an unfavorable atmosphere, it is still impossible to organize a second meeting of specialists.

I want to reaffirm once again that I greatly respect the agreements between your excellency and myself and highly appreciate your efforts to forget the past and look to the future for the long-term interests of both peoples. For this reason, the use of your excellency's influence and prestige to persuade the U.S. Government to create a favorable atmosphere for the realization of the recent agreements between your excellency and myself will be useful.

On the same day, Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach also sent a letter to U.S. congressmen who are concerned about these issues.

**Nguyen Co Thach Interviewed on Cambodia Issue**  
*BK3104050688 Hanoi VNA in English 1703 GMT*  
30 Aug 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA-OANA Aug 30—Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach today granted an interview to VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY on the Kampuchea issue.

Following are questions and answers:

Question 1: Can you give your evaluations of the development following the Jakarta informal meeting (JIM) and the prospect for the settlement of the Kampuchea issue?

Answer: The declaration on the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea, JIM's conclusion on two key issues of the Kampuchea question, the results of the Harare meeting of nonaligned countries' senior officials and the realities in Kampuchea have opened up a prospect for the resolution of the Kampuchea issue in the near future. At present, there are three possibilities. Firstly, there will be an overall solution to both the internal and international aspects of the Kampuchea issue; secondly, there may be partial solutions, first, the international aspect of the Kampuchea issue and second, the internal aspect; and thirdly, Vietnam will withdraw all its troops by 1990 without any political solution. We prefer an overall political solution or a partial one to none. But, that depends on the other side.

Question 2: Would you please speak in details about the prospect for the settlement of the international aspect first, and the internal one later.

Answer: All the concerned parties have basically agreed upon key points of the international aspect, namely:

1. The timetable for the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is linked with the end of arms supply for the opposing Khmer forces and the end to the interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

2. Foreign countries respect an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

3. Countries agreed that there will be an international commission to supervise the implementation of agreements on the international aspect. On these two timetables, some countries proposed nine months following the signing of the agreement while, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Vietnam proposed that the earliest time should be in late 1989 and the latest one will be the first quarter of 1990. Prince Sihanouk proposed two phases: the first phase is in June 1989 and the second one is in late 1989. The difference in this matter is not big and it can be solved through negotiations. All concerned parties are unanimous in Kampuchea's future status, namely, independence, neutrality and non-alignment.

On the international supervision organization, the difference is whether there will or will not be an international force to disarm the Pol Pot force, to prevent a war among the four Kampuchean factions and to organize a general election. The question of an international peace-keeping force only concerns matters of Kampuchea's internal affairs and does not concern matters of the international aspect of the Kampuchea issue.

Kampuchea's internal affairs must be solved by the Kampuchean sides themselves without foreign interference. Foreign countries should respect agreements reached between the Kampuchean parties. Here, there are many complicated problems which could not be solved promptly. Therefore, the settlement of the international aspect first then the internal aspect later becomes the most possible reality. There were precedents for resolving the international aspects first in the settlement of the Lao issue in 1961-62 and the Afghanistan issue in 1988 though there are similarities and differences as well in the Lao, Afghan and Kampuchean issues.

We hold that if the international aspect is settled first, the Kampuchea issue will no longer be the difference between countries in the region but longer be the difference of Kampuchea. [sentence as received] If so, this will benefit the safeguarding of peace and the development of friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia, thus conforming to the long-term interests of all nations in the region.

Question 3: What's your view about some idea which rejected JIM's conclusion on two pivotal things for the settlement of the Kampuchea question and which proposed the prevention of two dangers: firstly, the return of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and secondly the single rule in Kampuchea by the People's Republic of Kampuchea?

Answer: The question of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea has existed for 13 years now, even before the emergence of the Kampuchea issue. From 1975-78, the Pol Pot clique was used as a tool to perpetrate a genocide which killed three million Kampucheans, to invade Vietnam and threaten other neighbouring countries. At that time, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva and western countries condemned the crimes committed by the genocidal Pol Pot regime. From 1979-81, after Vietnam, exercising its legitimate right to



self-defence to fight back the Pol Pot clique and helping the Kampuchean people overthrow the genocidal regime, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea was used as a pretext to cover up the Pol Potists' genocidal crimes against the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples. [sentence as received] Since 1982, they have set up the so-called tripartite coalition government and abused the name of Prince Sihanouk to shelter the Pol Pot genocidal regime and maintain its seat at the United Nations. Since May 1988 when Vietnam declared the withdrawal of its 50,000 troops by the end of this year and the total pull-out by late 1990, they have no longer been able to use the question of Vietnamese troops to cover up the Pol Pot genocidal regime's crimes. Also since July 1988, Prince Sihanouk has resigned his post as president of the so-called Democratic Coalition Government of Kampuchea and declared that from now on he will not allow anyone to use his name to hide the Pol Pot genocidal regime.

After Vietnam's declaration to withdraw its 50,000 troops in 1988, Prince Sihanouk's declaration to resign in July 1988 and especially after JIM's conclusion on two pivotal questions, the world public has demanded for thorough measures to prevent the genocidal Pol Pot clique from returning to power. In face of that strong tendency, a new trick has been put out, that is to prevent the two dangers, the danger of the Khmer Rouge's return to power and the danger of the Heng Samrin regime's single rule. Obviously, they have equalled the genocidal Pol Pot gang to the anti-genocide force in an attempt to maintain the genocidal Pol Pot clique. So, over the past 13 years, they have repeatedly changed their pretexts but only with an aim of maintaining the genocidal Pol Pot regime, which committed crimes against the Kampuchean people and the whole mankind and has been condemned by the whole mankind, and of gaining a future legal position for that genocidal regime in Kampuchea.

Question 4: So, according to you, how should this problem be solved?

Answer: All countries should respect the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination, first of all the right to live without threat of the return of the genocidal Pol Pot regime. On the future administration in Kampuchea and its composition, that must be agreed upon by factions of the two opposing Kampuchean forces and finally decided by the Kampuchean people through free general elections to be held under international supervision and without outside interference. All countries must respect the agreements to be reached between Kampuchean sides.

**Do Muoi Meets With Indonesian Minister**  
*BK3008112588 Jakarta ANTARA in English 1013 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] Hanoi, August 30 (OANA-ANTARA)—Vietnamese Prime Minister Do Muoi expressed his conviction that the problem of border agreement between Vietnam and Indonesia can be resolved in the near future.

"In principle, Vietnam has no difficult problem with Indonesia compared with other countries," he said when he received a courtesy call by Indonesian Information Minister Harmoko on Sunday [28 August].

Harmoko is currently visiting Vietnam at the invitation of his Vietnamese counterpart.

Do Muoi said if the border agreement, which had been discussed in eight meetings between the two sides, has not been concluded up to now, it is only because there are other more urgent problems to be faced such as the problem of Kampuchea.

He assured Minister Harmoko that the problem of the border agreement with Indonesia can be resolved in a short time.

The border, which is being negotiated between the two countries, involves the waters north of the Natuna Island [words indistinct] to contain a rich deposit of natural gas.

He expressed satisfaction over cooperation between the Information Ministries of the two countries, hoping that the real situation in Vietnam will be widely known in Indonesia and vice-versa.

Premier Do Muoi admitted that his country has for a long time had no time to develop its economy because of the prolonged war. But now the people of Vietnam has united, although there is still the problem of Kampuchea.

But the Vietnamese leader believes that the Kampuchean problem too can be resolved in a short time.

Do Muoi said for Vietnam, Indonesia is not only a neighbouring country but also a force in the rank of the non-aligned countries.

He expressed admiration for the progress that Indonesia has achieved and also thanked the government and people of Indonesia for the help that has been given to Vietnam all this time.

In the management of the economy, he said, Vietnam will try to learn from Indonesia.

He said Vietnam intends to carry out a reform in its economic management. Vietnam will pursue three basic programs, covering food and clothing, commercial goods production, and export.

In the initial stage, he said, the programs will aim at [word indistinct] economic and social stability. This will be achieved by, among other things, boosting production in the country and looking for partners in economic development abroad.

**Joint Communiqué Released**

*BK3108075988 Hanoi VNA in English 0719 GMT  
31 Aug 88*

[VNA headline: "Press communiqué on Indonesian delegation's Vietnam visit"—all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Hanoi VNA August 31—A press communiqué is released here today on the just-concluded visit to Vietnam by a delegation of the Republic of Indonesia.

The communiqué reads:

"At the invitation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a delegation of the Republic of Indonesia headed by Minister of Information Harmoko paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from August 26 to August 31, 1988. While in Vietnam, the delegation paid tribute to President Ho Chi Minh at his mausoleum and visited his home and office. The delegation was received by President of the Council of State Vo Chi Cong, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Do Muoi and Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs Nguyen Co Thach. The delegation had talks with a delegation of the Ministry of Information of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam led by Minister of Information Tran Hoan. The talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

With a view to further strengthening the cooperation in the field of information, the two delegations have agreed on the following:

1. The two sides informed each other of the activities and progress in the national development of their respective countries, particularly in the field of information and mass-communication.
2. The two sides have agreed in principle to strive for the establishment of the new world information order, to abolish the imbalance in the flow of information between the developed and the developing countries, and to prevent the monopoly and distortion of information vis-a-vis the developing countries.
3. The two sides have agreed in principle, bearing in mind the situation and conditions of each country, to exchange information, broadcasting on radio and television programs, in particular materials pertaining to the technological, economic, sport and cultural programs. The exchange of such materials will be channeled through the two information ministries. Each side has the right to decide how to use such materials.
4. The two sides have agreed on the strengthening of the cooperation between the ANTARA News Agency and the VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY (VNA) in the framework of the OANA and NANAP cooperation program.

5. The two sides have agreed on the importance of the cooperation in the fields of training for information officers and journalists, including the radio and television personnel.

6. The delegation of the Republic of Indonesia has expressed its gratitude for the attention extended by the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as well as the sincere and friendly hospitalities given by the Ministry of Information of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Minister Tran Hoan.

7. The two sides were satisfied and were of the view that the visit of the Indonesian delegation was a success and beneficial to the strengthening of the cooperation between the Department of Information of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Information of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as well as the relations between the two countries.

Minister Harmoko has invited Minister of Information of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Tran Hoan to pay an official visit to the Republic of Indonesia. Minister Tran Hoan has accepted the invitation and the visit will be made at an agreed time by the two sides".

**Friendship Delegation Departs**

*BK3108094488 Hanoi VNA in English 0716 GMT  
31 Aug 88*

[Text] Hanoi VNA August 31—The delegation of the Republic of Indonesia led by Minister of Information H. Harmoko left here today concluding its friendship visit to Vietnam.

Among those present at the farewell ceremony were Tran Hoan, minister of information; Dao Tung, general director of VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY; Phan Quang, general director of the radio "Voice of Vietnam"; and Pham Khac Lam, general director of Vietnam television. Indonesian ambassador to Vietnam Aswismarmo was also present.

While here, the delegation held talks with a delegation of the Vietnamese Ministry of Information headed by Minister Tran Hoan. The two sides informed each other of information and communication activities in their respective countries, and discussed their cooperation plan in the coming period aimed at further tightening the friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The delegation also called on VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY, the radio "Voice of Vietnam", the Vietnam Television, the People's Committee of Hanoi, the construction site of the Hoa Binh hydroelectric power plant, the Vietnam-Indonesia Friendship Association, the national art gallery, the Hanoi school of fine arts, and the orphanage "Dr G. Birla Memorial Children's Home" in Mai Dich village, to the inmates of which Mrs. Harmoko donated U.S. Dollars 1,000.

This morning, at the government guest house, Minister H. Harmoko and Minister Tran Hoan met with Vietnamese mediamen in Hanoi.

**Army Journal Analyzes China's Defense Strategy**  
BK3008070188 Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG  
TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Jun 88 pp 40-44

["Military Commentary" by Quyet Thang: "China's Defense Strategy Until the Year 2000"]

[Text] As revealed by the Hong Kong magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, in its March 1988 issue, China's military researchers have completed an important project designed to spell out China's basic strategic principles and its military doctrine under the name "China's Defense Strategy Until the Year 2000." Many discussions on military doctrine and military science held by high-ranking leaders over the past years—perhaps the most noteworthy of them being the enlarged conference of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission held in the spring of 1985—have allowed us to see to a certain extent the formation and development of this research project. A document, regarded as fundamental, was completed in late 1987 under the light of the 13th CPC Congress; and many of its important parts might have been concretized into policies beginning in 1988.

Everyone knows that for the defense of its national sovereignty and independence, every country has its own defense strategy. Whatever this strategy and its contents may be is a matter for that country alone to decide, and no one has the right to interfere. However, in studying the viewpoints of the military doctrine advanced by China—openly on many occasions as reflected in its real actions, especially in Vietnam, Indochina, and Southeast Asia—we can see that there are many issues in China's so-called "defense strategy" that arouse the legitimate concern of our people and other peoples in Indochina and Southeast Asia and prompt them to uphold the utmost vigilance. Most recently, China's military advance southward resulted in the seizure of Vietnam's Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago. Could this action, in effect, be part of the policies now being carried out by China to put into practice the line that had been developed in the research project mentioned earlier?

Beijing often claims that China is a socialist country that does not advocate aggression against anyone; and also that it needs a peaceful environment for carrying out the "four modernizations" to "build China" in accordance with the line charted at the 13th CCP Congress. Therefore, China's defense strategy can only be an "active defense strategy." Thus, let us examine the true substance of that so-called "active defense strategy."

It is still remembered that in an interview granted on the occasion of the 58th founding anniversary of the Chinese Liberation Army (1 August 1985), Yang Dezhi, then

chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, said that China had "overrated the danger and inevitability of a world war." Proceeding from this, Beijing came to the conclusion that instead of a new world war, local conflicts would occur successively in various regions. Therefore, "in the new era of local conflicts," China "must develop a totally new military doctrine."

According to the May 1987 issue of DEFENSE NATIONALE (a French magazine), Beijing "accepted the possibility of a war, limited both in space and time, breaking out in its territory," in which a lot of modern equipment and weapons will be used. In light of its analysis of the world and the epoch, of the scientific and technological revolution's impact in the military field..., China has reorganized its army, rearranged its defense system, revised its military doctrine, developed military science and art....

Naturally, no one thinks that China may forego its preparations for a worldwide nuclear war. In reality, China's nuclear forces continue to be developed. It is believed that Beijing's aim is to create a reliable capacity for "making the second strike" at both land- and sea-based mobile launching sites of the adversary. Thus, this approach is different from that of the United States which is continuing to plunge headlong into the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) with the aim of creating for itself the capacity for launching the first strategic nuclear attack against the Soviet Union (and other socialist countries) without being subjected to retaliation.

Such preparations for a nuclear world war constitute, perhaps, a major content of the "active defense strategy" developed by China to cope with adversaries whom it hypothetically identifies as the Soviet Union and the United States.

What about Beijing's attitude toward regional conflicts and wars? It can be said that this is also another important purpose of China's "positive defense strategy." According to the January 1987 issue of the Japanese magazine SELECTION, it is Beijing's "desire and dream" to see "the world in great turmoil." This is nothing other than applying the ancient Chinese kung fu lesson of "sitting on the mountain top to watch the tigers duel!" In an article entitled, "China Ranks Fifth Among the World Arms Exporters," the magazine held that China's intensification of its arms exports is part of "Beijing's long-term strategy." It is China's design to "see the world always in turmoil and constantly plagued by armed conflicts into which the strengths of both the Soviet Union and United States are drawn." Furthermore, with these conflicts, "the Soviet-U.S. confrontation will become increasingly grave, and the two superpowers will consequently be weakened while China will manage to become stronger and to create a change in the world order in its favor." (This is not to mention other reasons for China's arms exports, such as economic and military reasons arising from the need to obtain foreign



currency to import high-tech military equipment, and political reasons originating from an attempt to get hold of developing countries to achieve China's design to achieve supremacy over the Third World.)

But what we wish to talk about here are "those modern limited wars" that China is studying and preparing for. It is easy to understand that ostensibly, what China has referred to is a "limited war" that may take place in China if the country happens to come under an aggression and that the Chinese people may have to wage to defend their independence and sovereignty.

But are this argument and the main purposes behind it true? One may have reason for doubt. This is because when studying the demands of "modern limited wars" with regard to the Chinese Armed Forces, the military leadership circles in Beijing have, while haunted by the setbacks they suffered in their war of aggression against the Vietnamese northern border in February 1979, discussed openly the many weaknesses and unsuitability that the Chinese Armed Forces may encounter in foreign battlefields. Naturally, China has also paid attention to recent experiences learned by other countries in conducting a modern war, such as the experience learned by Britain and Argentina in the Malvinas and by the United States in Granada, and so on....

One may still have more legitimate reasons for doubt. This is because there have existed a series of limited and below-average wars under various forms that Beijing has, since the founding of the PRC in 1949, waged against its neighboring countries, such as the war against India, namely the 1959-62 Chinese war of aggression against India, and especially the war against Vietnam and other Indochinese countries—the 1977-79 "two-pincer" war of aggression waged by China against Vietnam's northern and southwestern borders. This was followed by the multifaceted war of sabotage which has continued to drag on until this moment and during which there has been a time when the war waged by the invading Chinese Armed Forces became permanent and the intensity of which was very high, bearing the form of a war of nibbling at Vietnam's border, and this war now has transformed itself into a southward crusade to nibble at Vietnam's Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago.

One may have more reasons for doubt. This is because by associating themselves with the above maneuvers, people in the Beijing leadership have time and again exposed their own design to expand southward in order to restore their former "Chinese imperial rule." It is not by coincidence that strategists in the world have repeatedly talked about a "modern Chinese history" book published in Beijing in 1954 (following the founding of the new China) with a map clearly noting "the tragic losses" of territories that China should recover, including the territories of Mongolia, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, part of Indian territory, and the entire Japanese Archipelago of Ryukyu.

Could it be that this is truly the essence and substance of what is called by China the "positive defense strategy." This strategy calls for expansion toward foreign countries, particularly toward neighboring countries and mainly toward the south, both overland and at sea, through the conduct of limited wars of aggression or other forms of invasion at varying scales. This resembles the U.S. doctrine of "low-intensity conflict" (LIC) or "low-intensity war," but it bears the Chinese trademark and the purpose of it is to materialize China's great-Han expansionist design at a time when there is no large-scale war in the world.

One can further see part of China's strategic ideology through the article "Follow the Rational Strategic Border of Three Regions" published in the 3 April 1987 issue of China's LIBERATION ARMY paper. According to this article of reflections on the strategy of developing national defense, China might be preparing the argument to justify its expansionist ambition by openly advancing the demand for extending "the geographic border" to a "strategic border", thus expanding China's border on the seas.

This very article pointed out the relationship between "strategic border and positive defense." The author contends that "following the rational strategic border of three regions...is completely in line with China's strategic guideline for positive defense" and that when concretely establishing the strategic borders of these three regions, there "should be certain amendments to the traditional concepts of positive defense strategy being formulated on the strength of China's mainland." Such is the concept of "country's gate" in positive defense strategy, advocating the "extension of the traditional geographic border to the strategic border, without stopping at the shoreline and 12 nautical miles of territorial waters, but the border must be expanded to the limit of 3 million square km in the sea..." The concept of "battlefield" should also be gradually expanded. "The main battlefield in traditional positive defense strategy is on the mainland and mainly within the limits of our country. Now, it 'will move out', 'combat will be conducted close to and far off shore, and in space'...." In this connection, "deterrent forces must be established in three regions", and "a series of new problems concerning the development of military science and technology theories" must be resolved....

The recent activities of Beijing and the Chinese Army, and especially the Chinese Navy, have made people think that some of the contents in the document "China's Defense Strategy Until the Year 2,000" are being concretized into policies and being implemented step by step. These acts have clearly manifested Beijing's scheme of expansion into the sea, and Southeast Asia, in order to monopolize the Eastern Sea and the Truong Sa [Spratly] of Vietnam in the immediate future (see Military commentary "China's Plot To Seize and Occupy Vietnam's Truong Sa" in the May 1988 issue of TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN).

Everyone knows that China does not stop there. It does not stop at the seizure and occupation of Vietnam's Truong Sa. This is merely a step, a component in China's strategy of expansion into the Eastern Sea. The 2 September 1987 issue of the Taiwan paper LIEN HO PAO [United Daily News] observed that the single fact that China has established Hainan Province (to include Hoang Sa [Paracels] and Truong Sa of Vietnam, has borne the same strategic importance as that of Beijing troops entering Tibet in 1950 which led to the enlargement of China's southwestern borderline to northern Himalaya. Today, it involves Vietnam's Truong Sa. What else will happen on the road of "southern conquest" tomorrow and the day after tomorrow...by the "imperial court", and on the path of China's desire to become a superpower in the 21st century, which it calls "China's century"?!]

One can not forget a statement some 600 years ago by the Yuan dynasty saying that "the southern state [Vietnam] is as close as it is in the palm while Java is as distant as it is on the finger tip. For this reason, the southern state must be attacked and occupied first before taking Java."

It should be added that the ASEAN countries, the long-range objectives of annexation in China's strategy of expansion into the south, are being courted by Beijing. Some of them have been considered by Beijing as its allies (!) with the aim of isolating Vietnam! However, the Vietnamese people and the peoples in Indochina as a whole and in Southeast Asia can not be deceived. Among the political circles of ASEAN countries, there have been more and more people who clearly understand where the main, long-term, and potential danger to them originates.

Such is in general "China's Strategy of Defense Until the year 2,000" and Beijing's "positive defense strategy!"

**Daily Views South Africa's 'Terrorist Policy'**  
*BK3008075688 Hanoi VNA in English 0723 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] Hanoi VNA August 30—The national daily NHAN DAN today describes the August 26 execution of four African patriots by the Pretoria authorities as a new crime in their terrorist policy against the South African people.

In a commentary, the paper says:

"Obviously, following a series of recent fascist crimes, this middle-age-type barbarous act is aimed at countering the South African people's seething struggle for democracy, freedom and the abolition of the racist regime. This has not in the least testified to Pretoria's strength but only poured more fuel on the fire of the South African people's struggle.

"Its policy of deliberately using force against the people's legitimate aspirations only arouses indignation among the world progressive people who are resolutely demanding for an end to its terrorist policy and the immediate release of all African patriots still being illegally detained," concludes the paper.

**More Housing for Spratly Island Defenders**  
*BK3008073588 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 28 Aug 88*

[Text] A ceremony was held recently on Toc Tang Island of the Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago to turn over a number of durable houses to the T-29 Unit of the Truong Sa Archipelago. The houses had been built by Quang Nam-Danang Province.

On behalf of local cadres and soldiers, Island Commander Pham Dac Sinh expressed his profound attitude to the Quang Nam-Da Nang Provincial Party Committee, People's Committee, and people who had cared enough to send a group of cadres and technicians to the island to build those housing facilities.

**Ha Tuyen Takes Action Against Corrupt Cadres**  
*BK3008093188 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 30 Aug 88*

[Text] Ha Tuyen Province has just decided to take disciplinary action against and prosecute some key cadres and party members formerly working at the War Invalids and Social Welfare Service on charges of taking advantage of their positions and authority to embezzle state property and funds.

The standing body of the provincial party committee has decided to take legal action against and issue a warning to Do Huu Suu, a party member and former director of the War Invalids and Social Welfare Service, for lacking a sense of responsibility in selling materials not in accordance with policies and procedures and allowing subordinates to engage in embezzlement, thus causing the state to lose millions of dong.

Disciplinary action, in the form of a warning, has also been taken against Tran Van Tu and Ha Mau Hoa—the two party members and former deputy directors of the War Invalids and Social Welfare Service—for lacking the sense of responsibility in managing, selling, and using relief materials and goods not in accordance with principles and allowing subordinates to engage in embezzlement, thus causing great losses to the state in terms of goods and money.

Tran Minh Dinh and Dinh Van Hai, party members and professional cadres of the service, have been expelled from the party on charges of taking advantage of their positions and authority to produce fake documents for embezzling a large amount of soldiers' allowances.

Along with enforcing party discipline, the Tuyen Quang City People's Organ of Control has issued a decision to prosecute defendants Tran Minh Dinh, Duong Tien Cong, Dang Quoc Khanh, and Dinh Van Hai on charges of fraud—producing fake documents on ex-servicemen and war invalids to embezzle millions of dong of the state.

**Vo Van Kiet Visits Thanh Hoa Province**  
*BK3008134188 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese*  
2300 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] From 26 to 28 August, Comrade Vo Van Kiet, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Thanh Hoa Port, worked with the party committee and people's committee of the mountainous District of Lang Chanh, toured the bamboo planting area in this district, and visited the Lam Son Sugar Mill and some other production establishments.

Working with the leaders and cadres of various economic sectors in Thanh Hoa Province, Comrade Vo Van Kiet discussed measures to overcome difficulties in agricultural and industrial production, exportation, distribution, and circulation.

Comrade Vo Van Kiet said: In the immediate future, Thanh Hoa must concentrate efforts on producing grain, especially high-yield rice on 60,000 hectares in the delta districts, expanding the areas of summer-fall rice and winter crops, promptly solving the problems of water conservancy and fertilizer, and applying the contract system. This is aimed at making it possible for the province to turn out 1 million metric tons of grain by 1990.

Concrete plans should be formulated for the areas of industrial crops—such as sugarcane, peanut, rush, jute, and tobacco—so as to encourage the production of these crops. It is necessary to ensure that the agricultural advantages of each region suit its production capacity. The districts in the mountainous region should pay attention to planting and exploiting various kinds of trees, especially bamboo, while those in the marine economic region should attach importance to the exploitation, raising, and cultivation of aquatic products for export.

Thanh Hoa should redetermine the possibility of establishing integration or joint venture with the central-level industry sector in the province. It should also propose that the Council of Ministers review a number of emergency measures concerning the supply of electric power in support of production and the policies toward various export items such as peanut, rush, jute, and marine products.

**Government Directive on Renewing Management**  
*BK2908102688 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese*  
0500 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers recently issued a directive providing guidance for the implementation of Political Bureau Resolution No 16 on renovating the management policy toward and mechanism of production installations of non-governmental economic components.

As regards the formulation and publication of legal documents, the directive stipulated: Agencies charged with specific duties should urgently proceed in August 1988 with scrutinizing the published legal documents attached to Decrees 27-HDBT, 28-HDBT, and 29-HDBT on the policies toward collective, individual, private, and household economies, industrial production and service, construction, and transportation. They should institute plans to continually formulate, submit, and publish new policies which are mentioned in Resolution No 16 of the Political Bureau but not in the aforementioned decrees of the Council of Ministers.

The Central Management Research Institute is responsible for studying and proposing necessary amendments and modifications of the abovementioned decrees in conformity with Resolution No 16 of the Political Bureau, and then submit them to the Council of Ministers' standing committee. The chief officers, ministers, and general department chiefs of state agencies are responsible for continually issuing or amending and modifying the various guidance circulars, and implementing the aforementioned decrees within their sphere of responsibility.

The Union of Central Handicrafts Cooperatives will draft a document on the function, mission, authority, and operational regulations of the Central Board of Non-Governmental Cooperatives and Production Units, and submit it to the party Central Committee Secretariat, the Council of Ministers' standing committee, and the Confederation of Trade Unions.

The Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Finance with the participation of the Confederation of Trade Unions and the Union of Central Handicrafts Cooperatives will formulate projects for organizing social security service for workers of non-governmental economic components, and submit them to the party Central Committee Secretariat and the Council of Ministers' standing committee before the end of 1988.

The Central Management Research Institute together with the Union of Central Handicrafts Cooperatives have the duty to study and draft sample regulations of cooperatives and joint private-state corporations, and the operational rules of joint production enterprises and service centers related to one or more economic components, and submit them to the Council of Ministers



within the first quarter of 1989. In this connection, it is necessary to organize a pilot project in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City in the fourth quarter of 1988.

The Ministry of Justice together with the Central Management Research Institute will consider the submission of some economic laws and orders for both government and non-government sectors to the Council of Ministers—that will forward them to the Council of State for inclusion into the 1989 legislation program—on the basis of generally reviewing and upgrading the regulations and decisions concerning the policies attached to the decrees published by the Council of Ministers in 1988.

The chairmen of people's committees of provinces, cities, and special zones under direct central government control should have plans to implement and organize the new state policies, and amend local government stipulations at variance with the aforementioned decrees of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers' directive further stipulated some matters concerning organization and implementation in the immediate future.

#### **Control Committee Reviews Party Quality**

*BK2908095888 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese  
0500 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] During the first 6 months of the year, the party control committee in charge of overseeing the performances of district and city party committees and other party committees directly subordinate to the Lai Chau Provincial Party Committee has reviewed the quality of 1,600 party members.

The results obtained from the evaluation of 175 cadres under the management of the provincial party committee indicate that 89 percent of them have strictly observed discipline, 2.8 percent failed to do so, and 7.3 percent committed violations.

The evaluation results obtained from 42 grass-roots party organizations also indicate that no due efforts have been made to oversee the collection of party membership fees.

During the first 6 months of the year, the Lai Chau Provincial Party Committee has expelled 19 party members, dismissed 6, given warnings to 31, and reprimanded 16.

#### **CPV Journal on Ideological Activities**

*BK2608022588 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese Jun 88 pp 63-66*

[Article by Nguyen Trung Truc: "The Fashion"]

[Text] He is among the commanders who have always talked about renovation in the wake of the sixth party congress. There have been no conferences in which he

failed to analyze the necessity of renovation, saying that renovation is an essential objective requirement and an epochal trend; and that there must be comprehensive renovation ranging from the renovation of thinking, first of all economic thinking, to the renovation of organization, cadre contingents, and leadership and work behavior. He has spoken a lot on expanding democracy and openness as the soul of renovation. He has further talked a lot about the need to carry out thorough economic reform since this is one of the fundamental contents of renovation. To sum up, just like the press and other documents on renovation, he is quite right about every issue from the essentiality to the nature, purpose, and scope of renovation, and even the measures to carry out renovation. Although he was born a fluent person, he has never spoken so well.

In his office, he is surrounded by shelves of classic books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, President Ho Chi Minh, and even the latest works of CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev on restructuring.

On his desk, a placard bearing the slogan "Renew or die!" has appeared and no one knows when it got there. The slogan is written beautifully in black Chinese ink on glossy white drawing cardboard.

He does not stop merely at the theoretical aspect, he has further proved to be very scrupulous and objective in analyzing and dissecting the real situation of society in general and of his agency in particular. He has especially criticized very harshly his own agency, which he has headed for two decades now. He mainly mentions its shortcomings, then on this basis, he admits to his personal shortcomings. When talking about his own shortcomings, he pulls a long face, moving everybody who hears him.

Proceeding from an analysis of the real state of society and his agency over the past years, he comes to a very logical conclusion that: As our party is the ruling body, if we want to renovate the entire society, the party must start renewing itself. Renovation must begin with the highest comrade leaders of the party and state. As for our agency, it must begin with me. Then he pointed to his chest and said: As the top leader of the agency, my responsibility is very great. My conservativeness and sluggishness will make the entire agency conservative and sluggish. My dynamism and timely renewal will promptly energize and renovate the entire agency. I, for one, pledge to renew myself comprehensively. Yet, it is still not enough, I request all of you to renew yourselves as I do. The quality of each cadre must now reflect in his timely adaptation to renovation. Renew or die, which way do you choose, comrades?

Hearing these words from the commander, some of the cadres under his command are still suspicious, but many of them were moved and have really believed him because he is quite right in what he said.

But that is not all, to prove his "earnest desire" for renovation, he further proposes to convene a conference of cadres, workers, and civil servants of his entire agency so that he can offer his self-criticism and listen to the people's views, criticism, and suggestions.

Before large numbers of people under his control, he again speaks of the importance of renovation and the role of commanders in renovation. He asks everyone to frankly criticize him in the spirit of speaking the truth straightforwardly, openly, and democratically. He further stresses repeatedly: I mainly ask you, comrades, to criticize my shortcomings and weaknesses. However severe one is to oneself, one still can not see all one's shortcomings and weaknesses. For example, you can never see a stain spot on your forehead if no one shows it to you and if you do not look at yourself in the mirror.

We must admit that he speaks so well. Spurred on by his words, an atmosphere of openness has taken place. Many people have realized their duty to speak truthfully, clearly, frankly, and correctly their mind and observations of their commander.

In such a democratic atmosphere, scores of people quickly raised their hands for permission to speak.

The first person gives his views on the commander's incompetence as compared to the requirements of his current duties. This comrade clearly specifies that despite his incompetence, the commander still refuses to forge ahead and train himself and to listen to the views of cadres under his command. Many correct hints and good suggestions have been made but were unacceptable to him. As a result, the agency's performance has been very limited, not to mention clear indications of its decline.

The second person criticizes the commander's performance of cadre tasks. This comrade straightforwardly says that in implementing the cadre tasks ranging from evaluation, placement, and promotion, to rewarding and disciplining of cadres, and other systems and policies concerning cadres, the commander only relies on his personal sentiments toward the cadres and on his own judgment of whether the cadres are docile in their relations with him. Whoever he likes will certainly be promoted quickly or recommended for higher wages and positions. Whoever he hates will certainly be doomed to failure.

The third person criticizes the commander's despotic, paternalistic, and dictatorial attitude that has heavily weighed on the democratic atmosphere in the agency, disheartened the people, and weakened their confidence in the leadership and performance of higher authorities.

The fourth person criticizes the commander's sense of privileges and prerogatives, saying that the commander has directed his personnel to arrange for him to get more privileges than he is authorized.

The fifth, sixth, seventh, and several more people continue to speak out, each giving his views of the commander from different angles. All the views are sincere and truthful. They are expressed with almost complete accuracy, without any exaggeration, nor are they superfluous.

Besides criticisms, there are also views that try rather strongly to protect the commander. Only one of these views is cited here. That is the view of the commander's personal clerk. This comrade has commented upon and rejected all critical remarks. He said that the commander is professionally competent, unlike the criticism by the engineer. He said that the commander is sincere, open-minded, democratic, and not despotic, paternalistic, and dictatorial; that the commander is very generous, sentimental, and has no prejudice, no grudge nor hate against anybody; and that he knows how to suffer and endure sacrifices, and is not at all demanding. To prove that his view is correct, the clerk alleged that in many other sectors and agencies, commanders like his own can enjoy tenfold more benefits. Finally, as if he wants to emphasize his view, the clerk lowers his voice and confides: Staying close to the commander every day, I am in a better position than you to know him very well. I hope you believe me.

You will certainly want to know the commander's attitude toward such critical and protective views. His attitude is very clear. He listened very attentively to and wrote all criticisms in a thick notebook. Now and then, he nodded as if to say "comrades, you are quite right in your criticism, just go on." Regarding the protective views, especially those of his personal clerk, he seemed to be very indifferent and neglectful. With half-closed eyes, he seemed to stare at an unknown horizon. Sometimes, he frowned apparently manifesting his discomfort at those too flattering views. Whoever has keen eyes and saw his attitude would have been wise to stop the flattery.

Not finished, by the end of the conference, he again made a long statement. He sincerely thanked all those comrades who had criticized him frankly. He asserted that all the critics were truthful and truly constructive. He seemed to be happy because an atmosphere of openness and democracy had appeared and indications of renovation and a bright start had emerged. As for those views that tried to protect him, he criticized and did not approve them. It was really unbelievable! His criticism was of course not very strong. Yet, he also made his attitude clear. He said: What I want to know are my shortcomings and weaknesses. I do not like to hear praises and flattering words even if the praise is one hundred percent true. He further stressed: A commander who wants to hear only praise, is putting a noose around his neck. Such a person will sooner or later be eliminated by history.

His words drew a standing ovation. The eyes of many women became red with real emotion.

Time passed for one, two, and three months. Then, "renovation" began in the fourth month. It started with the personnel affairs. Engineers were assigned to direct production jobs. Some of them were put on early retirement. Some others already past retirement age were recommended for promotion. Some people were transferred from manager to specialist jobs while others were promoted beyond authorization or by several salary grades at one time. Such stories are normal in an agency. However, considering things calmly, everybody was startled by the facts. All those who have been transferred, been forced to retire before age, and been reassigned from manager to specialist positions, were those who frankly criticized the commander during the conference of cadres, workers, and civil servants a few months ago. The old man retained in service beyond retirement age and promoted, the person promoted by several salary grades at one time, and the person promoted beyond authorization were those who were "criticized" by the commander during the conference of cadres, workers, and civil servants for "having overpraised and flattered him". Then, how about the commander's personal clerk? This guy "can no longer" serve the commander and "is

compelled" to accept the position of a deputy department chief, replacing the department chief who is nearing retirement age. It should be noted here that this clerk had been a mere grade-5 worker before being assigned the deputy department chief position.

Some people might wonder why such a nice and fluent person can act at total variance with his words. Is he performing on stage?

Yes, this is exactly the matter of concern. What should be criticized, remains. What has deceived many people also remains.

There are now four categories of people in the face of the current renovation drive: —The first one really wants renovation.

—The second one hesitates to renovate.

—The third one objects to renovation rather fiercely.

—The fourth one includes those who always verbally prove that they are vanguard combatants in the renovation drive but who in fact act to the contrary. Renovation to them is merely a cloak to cover up the maneuvers that serve their own interests and those of their factions. The commander mentioned above belongs to the fourth category and he is the shrewdest man in his category.



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